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Warsaw Pact Schedules Exercise 28-30 Mar

LD2503083190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0802 GMT 25 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—According to the plan of the Warsaw Pact member states, a tactical training exercise by the air defense forces of the GDR, CSSR, the Polish Republic, and the western group of the USSR Armed Forces will take place from 28 to 30 March 1990. The GDR Defense Ministry's Press Department announced that for this reason there will be temporary restrictions on the civilian use of GDR airspace.

Warsaw Pact Meeting Discusses Travel Restrictions

LD2203095190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 21 Mar 90

[Text] Experts from Warsaw Pact member countries have been briefed in Prague about the new travel restrictions, which are to come into effect next month. Evelyn Forro reports:

[Begin Forro recording] For the time being, Czechoslovakia does not consider the introduction of compulsory visas necessary, Sandor Szabo, department head of the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, said after the negotiations. Mr. Szabo was a member of the Hungarian delegation. It is true that the possibility had been considered, but the news spread about it has been described by the Czechoslovak side as a mistaken leak.

Sandro Szabo has not detailed the planned measures but remarked that some of them can be proved to breach the spirit and letter of the Helsinki final document and to contradict the international documents on respect for human rights and the spirit of the idea of the free movement of people. He described as a definitely wrong step those planned measures by whose terms those tourists found to hold more than the permitted amount of money or to have made purchases above the permitted level will be automatically expelled from the country.

The delegation has repeatedly protested against the petroleum coupon system, which discriminates against Hungarians. The Czechoslovak reply to this was that soon all foreigners will buy petroleum with vouchers. [end recording]

Egypt's Mubarak Arrives on Visit

AU2803100090 Tirana ATA in English
0825 GMT 28 Mar 90

[Text] Tirana, March 28 (ATA)—On March 27 morning, Egypt's president, Husni Mubarak, received Pali Miska, vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of agriculture of Albania, at the presidential palace. Attending the reception, which proceeded in a warm and friendly atmosphere, were the vice-premier and minister of agriculture of Egypt, Dr. Yusuf Wali, as well as the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Albania in Cairo, Alkyz Cerga. During the reception they expressed the conviction that this visit will contribute to the further consolidation of the friendly relations and cooperation existing between Albania and Egypt. On this occasion, Pali Miska handed over to President Mubarak a friendly message by the president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania, Ramiz Alia. On his part Husni Mubarak thanked for the greetings conveyed through this message and asked the vice chairman of the Council of Ministers, Pali Miska, to transmit his greetings to the president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Ramiz Alia.

During the talk, the Egyptian president spoke of the traditional friendship and ties existing between our two peoples and countries and expressed the desire that the cooperation between Albania and Egypt be further promoted to the benefit of mutual interests.

In his speech, Pali Miska, after thanking for the warm and cordial reception, pointed to the traditional links and sentiments of friendship and respect the Albanian people cherish for the Egyptian people and the other Arab peoples. Our people have always appreciated the century-long struggle and untiring work of the Egyptian people for the development, prosperity, and consolidation of their homeland. During the talk he also spoke of the foreign policy and friendly cooperation pursued by our country, the road of Albania's development and the determination of the Albanian people to march forward on the road that has ensured to them the freedom, independence and national sovereignty.

Importance of Cooperation Stressed

AU2803103690 Tirana ATA in English
0829 GMT 28 Mar 90

[Text] Tirana, March 28 (ATA)—On March 27, the chairman of the People's Assembly of Egypt, Dr. Rif'at al-Mahjub, received the vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of agriculture, Pali Miska.

After wishing welcome and appreciated the special importance this visit marks in the further promotion of the relations of cooperation between Albania and Egypt, Dr. Rifa't al-Mahjub said that it is a special pleasure to meet with representatives of the heroic Albanian people. We follow with great interest the development of socialist Albania proceeding from the friendly sentiments the Egyptian people cherish for the Albanian fraternal people.

On his part, the vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers, Pali Miska, pointed to the historic links between our two peoples, their struggle against the foreign invaders for national and social liberation. The Albanian people have appreciated and appreciate the historic and cultural tradition of the Egyptian people and the deed of the humanists and numerous Egyptian personalities.

During the talk the chairman of the People's Assembly Dr. Rifat al-Mahjub and the vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers, Pali Miska, emphasized that the exchange of parliamentarians and contacts between the two parliaments will serve the strengthening of friendship and the promotion of the ties and of cooperation between Albania and Egypt.

The vice-premier and foreign minister of Egypt Dr. Ahmad 'Abd-al- Majid received the vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of agriculture, Pali Miska, and had a friendly talk with him at the seat of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Egypt on March 27.

During the reception, the Egyptian foreign minister underscored that the AR [Arab Republic] of Egypt has closely followed the foreign policy of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania, which is an independent policy. The consolidation of the friendly atmosphere and of cooperation between the Egyptian people and the Albanian one will contribute to the further promotion of the relations between our two countries.

On his part Pali Miska pointed out that Albania attaches special importance to the consolidation of the ties with the Egyptian people and the other Arab peoples, and in the future will try to forge ahead these relations to the mutual benefit. Likewise, he spoke of the foreign policy of Albania and the active participation of our country in the numerous international activities in the political, economic, cultural domains etc. Our country, he said further on, strives for the understanding, security and peace in the Balkans and broader. In October this year the second meeting of the foreign ministers of the Balkan states will be held in Tirana and Albania will make its contribution to carry ahead the Balkan process.

In course of the reception they talked also on other questions of the international situation, the political developments in the Middle East, Europe, the Mediterranean, etc.

The vice-premier and minister of agriculture of Egypt, Dr. Yusuf Wali, gave an official dinner in honour of the vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of agriculture of Albania, Pali Miska. The dinner proceeded in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

National Assembly, Roundtable Meet

AU2803095690 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 28 Mar 90

[Text] As you know, the 16th Session of the National Assembly opens today. We will carry a live relay on the opening of the session, after which we are expected to contact the reporters' room at the People's Palace of Culture, from where we are going to carry a live relay of the national roundtable session's proceedings.

The two events are closely linked because, as we know, the roundtable is expected to further clarify the controversial questions concerning the nature of the future National Assembly, the future election system, and the methods of electing the head of state.

If any agreements should be reached on these issues, they are expected to be submitted to the National Assembly for confirmation and adoption as laws. In addition to this, today's National Assembly is expected to discuss a number of other draft projects submitted to the session.

Lilov Speaks on BCP Political Initiatives

AU2703154190 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1425 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Speech by Aleksandur Lilov, Bulgarian Communist Party Supreme Council chairman, at a roundtable session in Sofia on 27 March—live]

[Text] Mr. Chairman, before I express our view on the questions discussed, I would like to inform you and all participants in the roundtable that our party's leadership has already adopted a decision on the publication of the crimes committed in the Lovech camp, insisting that competent state institutions should investigate all camps and prisons that existed and still exist in our country, so that they can be brought into full accordance with the country's laws and Constitution. I would also like to inform you that we insisted on the requirement that Colonel Krustyu Velichkov, director of the militia, should take a stand at today's roundtable session on the subject of your complaints made at former sessions about actions committed against you. I would ask you, Mr. Chairman, to give him the floor, whenever you consider it appropriate.

Comrades, ladies, and gentlemen. Yesterday and today the roundtable discussed three draft laws that to a great extent determine the future of democracy, the future of political reform in our country.

We have already agreed on the law on political parties. According to the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] delegation, this is a reliable step toward the establishment of a multiparty system in our country, toward the establishment of political pluralism, without which real democracy is unthinkable. The law will submit all parties to equal conditions. We have only to wish for ourselves that dialogue and cooperation among parties will serve democracy and not political partisanship, that it will serve Bulgaria and not narrow-minded party interests. Our party declares to the roundtable and to all the people that it will strictly observe the new law on parties, that it will fulfill its national tasks and responsibilities for the establishment of a multiparty, democratic, political system in our country.

For just this reason, we have submitted our package, composed of seven political initiatives, and we have already signed the three following agreements with you, here at the roundtable: a general political agreement, an agreement on peaceful transition to democracy in our country, and an agreement on enhancing the role and status of the roundtable. The last two agreements are part of our package.

We regard these agreements as a considerable success in the democratic construction of our country. If we honestly observe them, we will, with joint efforts and a joint sense of responsibility, preserve our country from clashes and upheavals like the ones we have observed in some of our neighbor countries. We will give the green light to political dialogue and to the democratic process.

Along with this, the agreements we have reached and signed, in addition to being a considerable success, are also a correct indicator for the path that our roundtable should follow. This path means, in our opinion, assuming national responsibility, working in a constructive spirit, applying statesmanlike wisdom and political common sense, and showing oneself as capable of compromise among the parties for the sake of the people's interests.

For all these reasons, our party's leadership is ready to pursue the policy of dialogue in the future, to work for expanding our successes that we have achieved so far, and to build together with you, the young, a democratic political system in Bulgaria.

We have denounced the authoritarian and totalitarian structures, we are innovating ourselves as a modern Marxist party, and we will struggle for a radical, democratic reform of our society. This is our goal and the meaning of our work in this society.

Unfortunately, the roundtable could not find a solution to several important questions. Our delegation does not dramatize this fact. We propose to pursue our quest for a constructive and generally acceptable solution. These questions are not easy to begin with. A lack of confidence and a negative political inheritance has accumulated in connection with these questions, which overshadows and obstructs their calm and sensible discussion. In spite of all this, our delegation thinks that on the basis of common desire and goodwill these questions can be resolved. The constructive draft projects were submitted yesterday by the contact group, after the preliminary consultations between the leadership of the BCP and Union of Democratic Forces [UDF] delegations.

We are ready to search, with you, for the necessary realistic and constructive solution. This is our opinion on the three crucial problems that we are discussing today:

In the first place, let us talk about the nature of the National Assembly, which we are expected to elect.

The critical issue that is now dividing us is what should the forthcoming National Assembly be like?

Should it just prepare and adopt the new constitution of Bulgaria for a year, or a year and a half, meaning that it should be a Grand National Assembly, or a Constituent National Assembly, as some people called it at the beginning? Or should it be a National Assembly with a full mandate, expected to adopt the new constitution, as well as the new legislation, as the legal basis of the future democratic and rule-of-law Bulgarian state? As we see, this is an important issue. Our delegation discussed the proposal that (?we submitted). The People's Republic of Bulgaria is living through a period of fundamental change from an authoritarian to a democratic system. This is a historical moment per se. Our state needs a new, profoundly democratic constitution. This is a historical fact. As a result of this, it is justified that a Grand National Assembly should be elected at the forthcoming elections. We are ready to accept this. Nevertheless, as I already pointed out, this major problem has a second aspect, which no responsible Bulgarian politician or political party can ignore.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria is going through an exceptionally difficult period of deteriorating economic crisis that may soon reach its climax, namely it may result in crucial economic, social, ecological, political, legal, cultural and other problems. The great solutions should not be delayed for too long; a process of reforms is required. This period not only requires a new constitution, but also new laws likely to open up methods for overcoming the crisis. Our state needs a broad, competent, and stable coalition government, regardless of who should establish it. This government should be capable of resolving these crucial problems. This question is so unmistakable that it does not need any explanation and justification.

Hence, it is necessary that the Grand National Assembly, in addition to adopting the new constitution, should resolve urgent and decisive problems concerning our people and our state. For this reason, the National Assembly should be an assembly with a full mandate.

In addition to all this, let us look at the most valuable assets of our historical experience. Let the Grand National Assembly itself, in adopting the new constitution, at its own decision, and in following the example of the Turnovo Grand National Assembly, or that of the Grand National Assembly of 1949, decide its own fate. Let it disband itself and continue as an ordinary national assembly.

Our delegation and our party do not understand why we should not apply our own historical experience, why the freely elected National Assembly should not accomplish two missions, namely: the lofty mission of adopting a new constitution, and the rescue mission of responding to the urgent need of economic and administrative initiative, including the protection and promotion of labor, production, law and order, reforms, and changes in all sectors. We are in favor of a national assembly that should be capable of resolving the current urgent problems of democratization and of reforms in Bulgaria.

The second question is related to the nature of the election system. We know from the experience of various democracies that a perfect election system does not exist. The question is what the country most urgently needs today.

If we wish all parties, or the majority of the parties, to be represented in parliament, we should choose one system, namely the proportional one, which you insist upon.

If we wish the country's most capable men and women to be elected to parliament and if we demand a stable administration, then we must choose the other, namely the majority system, as the majority of the advanced democratic states are doing.

Our party, however, proposes the adoption of a mixed election system in our country. Why?

In the first place, because we are convinced that the People's Republic of Bulgaria, more than ever and more than anything else, needs competent, courageous, professionally skilled, honest, and dedicated politicians and statesmen today, people who are inspired by civic responsibility and are capable of resolving the country's difficult problems instead of engaging in petty politicking. Such people exist among the people, in the economic sector, in sciences, in the cultural sphere, in the health protection sector. They really exist.

In the second place, we should consider the fact that democracy in our country is still young and the parties must be represented in parliament—each according to its influence, of course. You declare that you are going to win the elections. All right, we will congratulate you on the election victory, even more sincerely should you resolve the country's problems.

We, in turn, will try to propose two things to the people: a serious reform platform likely to overcome the crisis, and talented candidates. Let the people decide whether they are the better or the less capable ones. We will accept the decision and will of the people such as they are.

We cannot build a democratic and prosperous Bulgaria without democrats and capable politicians. The election system must discover them and submit them to our people's judgment and evaluation.

Last, but not least, let us deal with the third question, namely with the introduction of the presidential post as an institution.

On this subject, we propose that a head of state, namely a president of the republic, should be elected because this is a reliable guarantee for stability in our state and social life in connection with the peaceful transition to democracy. Our party constantly insists on the question of peaceful transition to democracy. We have proposed a special agreement on this crucial problem and we have signed an agreement with you on this issue. It would be wonderful if we could accomplish a velvet revolution in cooperation with you, but if we cannot do this, we are responsible to the people and the children of Bulgaria for the accomplishment of a bloodless revolution, for a transition to democratic society without bloodshed.

Sometimes I hear people saying that our party is frightening the people by describing the second alternative. I am amazed and greatly worried about a similar way of political thinking. To underestimate the danger of infighting and disasters, of explosive situations, considering the present dynamic development, the complexity, and the crucial nature of the problems under way in our country and in neighbor countries, considering the high tension existing in political life, and considering the moods among various strata and in different geographical regions means either to manifest great political naivete or adherence to the notorious slogan: The worse things are, the better it is for us.

The political price we have to pay for both attitudes is terrifying, and usually the people are those who have to pay this price. For this reason, we insist that a president of the republic should be elected. He should stand above party controversies and guarantee the internal peace, order, and stability, the country's external security, and its national prestige.

The basic difference between the two sides of the roundtable is related to the manner in which the president should be elected. You propose that he should be elected by parliament. We do not agree with this. Why? Because we are proceeding along the path of democracy with serious intentions and profound conviction, because we cannot start proclaiming one thing, while we are doing something else. We can no longer substitute for the people and adopt decisions in their name, or instead of them, on questions that are their prerogative. We cannot disband the authoritarian system by essentially restoring it. We cannot build a young and democratic political system by nondemocratic methods. Our party denounced the recent past and will never return to it.

For this reason, we propose the direct election of the president by the people. You do not agree with this; you have your arguments. We recognize your right to have such arguments and defend them. Under these circumstances, the BCP delegation proposes to hold a referendum on this question. Let the people decide whether there should be a president of Bulgaria and how he should be elected: either by the people through direct elections, or by parliament. The people are standing above everything, the roundtable included. Let us not debate what should be the best for the people. They will tells us this themselves, because they know better than we do. A referendum at the initiative of the roundtable: This would be a very strong democratic manifestation of our joint political forum. This is the point of view of our delegation. Thank you.

Mladenov Discusses Future Developments

AU2803080490 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 27 Mar 90 p 3

[Interview with Bulgarian President Petur Mladenov by Maren Koester-Hetzendorf; place and date not given: "The Bulgarians Will Always Be With Russia"]

[Text] [Koester-Hetzendorf] Mr. President, you are a follower of "democratic socialism." What does this slogan actually mean?

[Mladenov] It involves a socialism in which the principles of democracy will play a fundamental role. It is a socialism that is oriented toward people. Prosperity and human rights are important.

[Koester-Hetzendorf] Which role does the street play as a means of political struggle in Bulgaria?

[Mladenov] If we look at the political development from the upheaval on 10 November last year until today, one can see an extraordinarily strong politization of the masses. There is the awareness that it depends on the citizens how Bulgaria will develop in the future.

Of course, in this process various forms of expressing this democracy are developing, including the great number of demonstrations. It speaks in Bulgaria's favor that the demonstrations have been peaceful so far.

[Koester-Hetzendorf] Thus, you trust that the political forces are able to handle the means of the street.

[Mladenov] I have no reason not to trust them.

[Koester-Hetzendorf] In the other reform countries, the exact election dates have already been fixed. In Bulgaria's case, one only speaks of June in general terms.

[Mladenov] At the moment, the question of the elections is being discussed at the roundtable. I think that, in the interest of the states and the people, the elections should not take place later than June. However, some parties call for a later date.

The people will decide who will rule. If the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] wins the elections, it will invite all other parties to participate in the country's government.

[Koester-Hetzendorf] Would the coalition government proposed by you not lead to a "one-dish policy," which

cannot be of benefit to the building of a democracy? After all, a democracy thrives on the friction between political forces.

[Mladenov] In solving the country's big problems, we should look for national unity. On the path toward achieving these goals, it may be that there is opposition. One example: It is intended to set down all forms of property, from state property to private property, in the Constitution. I can imagine that some parties will put private property into the foreground. Others, on the other hand, will advocate cooperative or state property. Only the conflict of differences will lead to development.

As a member of the BCP I say: The party has a great interest in the existence of a strong opposition in the country.

[Koester-Hetzendorf] You were the head of state and party. Now you are only the head of state. How independent are you from your party, the BCP?

[Mladenov] State and party are separate. Since the government is currently formed only by the BCP, this party has a certain influence on state affairs. I am in constant contact with the party leadership, but I also cultivate contacts with the opposition. I am trying to establish links between the opposition and the government. After all, the state belongs to all of us. The opposition and the ruling party both have the same responsibility.

[Koester-Hetzendorf] How great are the power and authority of the future president supposed to be?

[Mladenov] The people will decide what power he will have. Perhaps, during the transitional period a strong president will be necessary. The president's power should be a guarantee for security and peace in the country and should contribute to strengthening democracy.

The new constitution will certainly rule that the president is to be above any parties. That means that he may be the representative of a party—until the elections.

[Koester-Hetzendorf] Does this mean, specifically, that the elected president will return his party book for the duration of his term of office?

[Mladenov] Yes.

[Koester-Hetzendorf] Recently, the government presented an anti-crisis program; which items do you consider particularly important?

[Mladenov] The most important thing is the economic reform, in particular the equality of all forms of property and the free market economy. However, the choice of the path is also important: whether one chooses shock therapy or a slow development. By the way, the program that is to be presented to parliament on 28 March was not received well by everybody.

[Koester-Hetzendorf] Do you mean people who are afraid of the social consequences, such as unemployment?

[Mladenov] Yes. Certain circles of the population will come into a very difficult situation. The government does not hide this fact.

[Koester-Hetzendorf] Hungary and Poland receive considerable financial support from other countries. What, do you think, is the reason that foreign investors hesitate in Bulgaria's case?

[Mladenov] I think that this is only temporary. The world understands that what we are doing is progressive and good.

[Koester-Hetzendorf] Do you see an alternative to overcoming the crisis, one that does not involve large amounts of foreign capital?

[Mladenov] No. Of course, this can happen, but this would be very painful for Bulgaria, and we should not bring our people into such a situation. They know the examples of countries that like Romania, thought that the debts had to be paid back. This is not the correct path.

[Koester-Hetzendorf] The upheavals in East Europe and southeastern Europe have practically dissolved the socialist community. There are no ideological bonds anymore. The reform countries are trying to come closer to West Europe, in particular to the EC. What is the attitude of Bulgaria, which is no exception in this respect, toward the Soviet Union?

[Mladenov] The relations with Russia and with the USSR are traditionally good. They go far back into history. Independent of the course the developments will take in the Soviet Union, in Bulgaria, and in Europe, the Bulgarians will always be with Russia.

[Koester-Hetzendorf] When last year more than 300,000 Muslims emigrated to Turkey, this caused painful gaps in certain economic areas, such as in tobacco cultivation, in the construction sector, and in the transportation sector. Returnees—in the meantime there are more than 100,000 of them—should actually be received with open arms. Instead, there are problems with reintegration. Why?

[Mladenov] Yes, the emigration of these people was a tragedy for the entire people. The government wanted the reintegration to be smooth. But there are problems. For instance, there are people who sold their houses. If they now got their houses back, this would be illegal.

But there are also psychological difficulties. The wave of emigration last year nourished mistrust and hatred among the population. However, there is no other path than that of understanding.

[Koester-Hetzendorf] How are relations with Turkey?

[Mladenov] Normal. We would wish them to be better.

[Koester-Hetzendorf] Has the emerging nationalism in the Balkans an effect on the population of your country, for instance on the inhabitants of Perin-Macedonia?

[Mladenov] There is no reason to speak of a Macedonian minority. All political forces in the country, without any exception, agree on this. The people in Perin-Macedonia understand themselves to be Bulgarians.

[Koester-Hetzendorf] In Bulgaria a phrase by Gorbachev is often quoted: "Those who do not learn from history are condemned to repeat it." How does Bulgaria account for the most recent past? Only by means of putting Zhivkov on trial?

[Mladenov] We distance ourselves from the mistakes and deformations, and we concentrate our efforts on democratization. As regards Zhivkov, he has already been punished for his political guilt: He was removed from all offices and expelled from the party. Concerning potential criminal guilt, there is an investigation under way at present. But you can be sure that we will strictly observe the laws.

[Koester-Hetzendorf] Relations between Austria and Bulgaria are traditionally good. Do you see the introduction of compulsory visas for Bulgarians as a problem?

[Mladenov] No. I know the reasons that forced Austria to do this and I accept them.

[Koester-Hetzendorf] Thus, Bulgaria does not think of introducing compulsory visas for Austrians?

[Mladenov] No, this is not necessary. Bulgaria has profound respect for Austria. Austria was the window to Europe for the Bulgarian people during the 500 years of foreign rule. I see a good future for the relations between Bulgaria and Austria.

Mladenov Backs 'Presidential Institution'

AU2803120490 Sofia BTA in English 0758 GMT 28 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 28 (BTA)—"Even if I haven't done anything else in my lifetime, joining some of my comrades in the overthrow of the old system seems to me a worthy deed," says Mr. Petur Mladenov, president of the State Council, in an interview for the opposition DEMOKRATSIYA daily.

Asked about the election campaign, the head of state points out that the state should guarantee equal opportunities to all political forces.

Mr. Petur Mladenov indicates that the State Council has "usurped" some National Assembly functions and believes that "it would be better if Bulgaria just had a presidential institution and a National Assembly." He declines to say whether he will run for president and points out that each candidate will have to reckon with the actual correlation of political forces.

Asked about his view of the opposition Union of Democratic Forces, Mr. Mladenov says that all constructive forces are welcome and that some of his "class mates, fellow students and friends" are members of the Union of Democratic Forces. "We may be divided over individual questions but we must be of the same mind on Bulgaria's interests," he says.

Mr. Petur Mladenov denies he has said a split was imminent in the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP]. He points out that the BCP is living through hard times but the manifesto which it adopted at its 14th Congress inspires it with fresh confidence.

"I do not accept the opinions that Bulgaria has fallen," Mr. Mladenov says, asked whether he has any fears about the country's present and future. "If there is any East European country which can find its feet fast, this is Bulgaria," he says in conclusion.

Lilov Says 'Political Spring' in 'Full Progress'

AU2803090890 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 23 Mar 90 pp 1,2

["Abridged version" of speech by Aleksandur Lilov, chairman of the Bulgarian Communist Party Supreme Council, at election meeting in Varna on 22 March: "For A Democratic and Civilized Election Struggle"]

[Text] Spring begins today. The political winter is over—democracy is beginning to grow; the great political spring of Bulgaria, filled with hopes and expectations, is in full progress.

The word change, the symbol of change—this is the most important word, the most inspired symbol in the name of which our party is facing the Bulgarian people today. We, Communists, are engaged in a struggle for a drastic and total change in our country today. We are willing to change everything for everyone, and we appeal to all of you to support the policy of change, the slogan of change, and the efforts of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] in achieving this change.

In reminding his audience that the change of 10 November 1989 was an achievement of the Bulgarian Communists, the speaker stressed that this was a single-handed, historical act accomplished by the BCP. It cannot be attributed to anyone else; it was not accomplished under pressure; it should be entirely attributed to the BCP that found the strength to respond to urgent domestic needs and to join the great processes of change under way in the USSR, all over East Europe, and throughout the world.

In pointing out that the process of transformation was pursued at the 14th Extraordinary BCP Congress, which subjected the authoriatarian model of socialism and the political, ecological, and moral crisis that resulted from it to a thorough and open-minded criticism, Comrade Aleksandur Lilov stressed that in adopting the new

political trend and the Manifesto on Building Democratic Socialism at the congress, the BCP assumed the general task of building democratic Bulgaria, of establishing a democratic, humane, and civilized socialist society in Bulgaria.

In connection with the refusal of the other political parties to participate in the establishment of a strong coalition government ready to cope with the political and economic reform, the speaker said: With a lofty sense of national responsibility, the party assumed the task of ruling the country on the basis of the one-party government without betraying its course toward democracy based on broad political pluralism and dialogue. Our hand remains outstretched. We offer it to all those who aspire for and are ready to engage in the construction of a democratic, political system in Bulgaria.

Mentioning the package of political initiatives adopted by the BCP Supreme Council, some of which were already transformed into agreements between political and social forces, the BCP leader assured that the party shall continue to further develop and intensify its policy of dialogue and mutual cooperation and that it shall actively and constructively participate in the work of the roundtable.

In dealing with the party's fundamental renewal, the speaker stated: We intend to change our nature and our image. We are ready to turn into a modern, strong, democratic, and active Marxist party. We intend to be a party based on democratic socialism, professing a humane and civilized socialism. This is the party that we are preparing to become. We will preserve all the most noble assets from our 100-year-old history, and we will adopt the most valuable and progressive achievements of contemporary sciences, political thought, and civilization. The BCP intends to change its name on the basis of an all-party referendum within the forthcoming days. The purpose of this change is to symbolize our own self-renewal, to manifest our capacity for change, and the progress of our real change under the newly emerged conditions.

Comrade A. Lilov went on: The party has a program for political reform. It proposed and is currently struggling for free elections, a new parliament, and a rule-of-law state. It seeks to overcome the abuses committed in the past on the nationality issue and to develop a comprehensive national policy. It strives for equal rights and security, which should be guaranteed every Bulgarian citizen, law and order, and stability in our country.

A revolution without bloodshed and violence—this is the path chosen by our party in the struggle to replace the totalitarian regime by a democratic system. The Bulgarian revolution will perhaps not be a "velvet" revolution, but it should not be a revolution of bloodshed, the speaker stressed. He reassured his audience that the party struggles for a peaceful transition to democracy, without social upheavals, without disorder, violence, and chaos. He pointed out: We say "no" to hatred, "no" to infighting, "no" to aggression, and "no" to political cliques. We are for civil peace, for law and order, for security, and for democratic and civilized political activities and struggles in our society.

May those forces and people, who are still involved in political arrogance and extremism, who are not choosing their means and do not observe the rules of civilized behavior, who do not respect civil ethics and think that the language of insults and slander, of gross attacks, and sly insinuations is permissible, may they realize and remember that they are sowing the seeds of hostility and distrust, that they are heavily poisoning the tender roots of emerging democracy in our society, Comrade Aleksandur Lilov warned.

Listen and look at what they are doing at rallies, and what they are saying even in their official newspapers and statements. Look at what kind of language they use, look at their manners, and at their moral behavior through which they are really disgracing Bulgaria; look at what kind of passions they are fanning and stirring. The official election campaign has not yet started, but the "volcano" of political hostilities, hatred, and partisan squabbles is already smoking and announces those pathetic Balkan, or Bulgarian-Balkan, eruptions that were well known from the past, the BCP leader stated, in pointing out that today, more than ever, we should be aware of our national responsiblity by manifesting statesmanlike wisdom and political common sense.

In addressing all political parties and leaders in this hour of great responsibility for the birth of Bulgarian democracy, the Supreme Party Council chairman said: "Let us mark the beginning of a new European tradition of tolerance in our political life, let us be guided by the rules of democracy, let us ascend a higher stage of political culture and ethics, let us speak in a more civilized language and with greater dignity. To put it briefly—let us engage in discussion, let us even engage in struggle, let us tell each other severe truths, but according to the rules of democracy that we are all professing.

Bulgarian citizens and our country do not need words and promises of democracy. They are tired of words, promises, and lies. What they need is real democracy established by real democrats.

The power monopoly of one party should not be replaced by another pretender for monopoly. Totalitarianism and intolerance toward those who share different ideas cannot be eliminated if they should be replaced by the roots of a new, no- less-violent intolerance.

The speaker further stressed: Our party's 100-year-old history has proved that we are no cowards. This applies to the epoch when our party shed its blood in the struggle against fascism, and it applies to the present conditions, when we are building a democratic, socialist society together with the people. We are openly and clearly stating that it is not our party, it is democracy itself that is threatened by a shortage of a democratic spirit in the political struggle today.

Our government is now preparing a program of economic reform and a program for overcoming the current crisis. This will be a difficult period, and the most important thing is to find the most sensible and most effective solutions for the economic problems that have accumulated and to most correctly distribute the burdens at the crisis' end.

An agrarian, an ecological, and also a legal reform are being prepared. The most important thing, however, is the effective preparation of truly free elections.

I would once more like to state with categorical and unmistakabe emphasis: We are not striving to establish a single-party government in our country. We think that Bulgaria needs a new parliament today, a parliament that has been freely elected by the entire people. Bulgaria additionally needs a president and a presidential power likely to guarantee its security. It needs a strong government based on national consensus, capable of rescuing our country from the crisis.

This is our stand today; this will be our stand tomorrow, after the free elections. At the present moment, the narrow party interests should step down and give priority to Bulgaria's nationwide interests.

In stating that the BCP and socialism in our country are subject to severe trials and going through decisive changes, the Supreme Party Council chairman said:

The second century of our party's existence that is beginning next year should practically implement the merging of socialism with democracy. This is the very nucleus of the transformation that we are engaged in accomplishing today.

I am convinced that we will soon become the Bulgarian Socialist Party that is called upon to accomplish this merging in the eyes of a society based on democratic socialism.

Let us establish with joint efforts a modern, strong, transformed, and prestigious Marxist party of a new type—a party capable of achieving this great historical goal.

The speaker ended his statement by expressing confidence that the Varna Communists will be among the most outstanding builders and fighters for our innovated party.

The country is living through a difficult period of change. What could we wish ourselves on this spring day?

Let it be a bright day, let it be spring, let our transition to democracy be peaceful, may Bulgaria prosper forever! This is what the BCP Supreme Council chairman said in closing his address. Enthusiastic applause by the participants followed.

Meeting on BCP Party Name Referendum

AU2703130390 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 23 Mar 90 p 2

[Dora Chichkova report: "Referendum Continues"]

[Text] Sofia, 22 March—Petur Mladenov declined our journalistic overtures. As a matter of fact, here, at the section on issues of state and law at the "Sredets" Municipal Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], he is merely a rank-and-file Communist.

It turned out that the meeting on the party referendum is the first meeting of the new primary party organization. Its members are Communists who work at the State Council, the National Assembly, and the special office for receiving citizens.

"It was not necessary to wait for the Law on Political Parties to understand that we must not conduct organized party life in the supraparty institutions," said party Secretary Ognyan Avramov. "Therefore, we discontinued the existence of the former primary party organization at the work place."

Nevertheless, the organization has not been "transferred" to a vacuum. It also reflects the dynamic processes that are taking place everywhere. Two members have returned their membership cards. A really small part of the members have utilized the various possibilities of registering envisioned by the statute. Most of them have preferred to join sections based on profession. There also are new members, who until now have been members of other primary organizations.

Only one member was against the proposed new party name. He certainly was not National Assembly chairman Stanko Todorov, who said:

"I cherish the name Bulgarian Communist Party, because this name attracted me already in 1943, when the party was illegal. However, I understand very well that when our party is renewing itself, its name must correspond to its proposed goals."

Preliminary Referendum Results

AU2703130690 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 25 Mar 90 p 1

[Angel Bonev report: "More Than 80 Percent of Communists Who Voted Said 'Yes' To Bulgarian Socialist Party"]

[Text] Yesterday was the fourth day of the all-party referendum on the new name of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP]. As RABOTNICHESKO DELO already reported, the final results will be published next week. However, what does the preliminary data on the referendum that we received from the Supreme Party Council show?

By 1700 [1500 GMT] on 24 March, some 86 percent of the Communists who had voted supported the new

name—Bulgarian Socialist Party. Some 12.54 percent voted against the new name, while only 0.5 percent of the ballots were invalid. Almost 20 percent of the primary organizations' members, who took part in the referendum, have abstained.

Those are the results for the country as a whole. The deviations from those numbers in the separate oblasts are rather insignificant. The percentage of party members in Burgas, Varna, Lovech, Mikhaylovgrad, Razgrad, and Sofia Oblasts, who voted affirmatively for changing the party name, is higher than the average percentage for the country.

Data on the referendum arrives daily at the Supreme Party Council. As already reported, the voting began on 21 March. As of 24 March, almost 100 percent of the party members in Teteven, Cherven Bryag, Levski, Belogradchik, Kula, Kubrat, and Provadiya had voted.

The referendum has been well organized in most of the municipal party organizations. Additional polling stations were organized almost everywhere. They were for members of the already disbanded party organizations at the Ministry of National Defense and Ministry of Internal Affairs, who still have not registered at their places of domicile. Many sick and elder party members have been afforded the opportunity to vote.

Fatherland Front Plans Name Change

AU2703182590 Sofia BTA in English
1637 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 27 (BTA)—In a matter of days, a curtain will formally fall on the totalitarianist history of the Fatherland Front. The country's largest public and political organization, suffering from an old-age pensioner's mentality, will probably drop the military term "front" from its name and use "union" instead. The Fatherland Union will serve as an umbrella organization for the huge mass of non-party people. It will renounce the idea of collective membership and will not accept control from any political party, said Mr Ginyo Ganev, chairman of the National Council of the Fatherland Front.

Speaking at a news conference here today, Mr Ganev elaborated his ideas of the organization turning into a wide-ranging movement of the center, into a nonpartisan balancing factor in public life.

The 30th extraordinary congress which the Fatherland Front will open on March 30 is expected to adopt a new statute of the organization. The big idea is that at the congress or shortly after it the new organization should submit to the Bulgarian public a moral code for the election campaign.

Presumably, the would-be union will seek democracy for everyone by rallying all in the conditions of civil peace.

Zhivkov's Son-in-Law Under Investigation

AU2703173490 Sofia BTA in English
1516 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 27 (BTA)—The Sofia City Prosecutor's Office confirmed that an investigation is in progress against Ivan Borisov Slavkov, Todor Zhivkov's son-in-law, president of the Bulgarian Olympic Committee and member of the International Olympic Committee.

Preliminary investigative proceedings were initiated against Mr. Slavkov on January 19, 1990, in connection with illegal possession of firearms. He was then released on 1,000 leva bail. The investigators collected evidence of gross embezzlement, and on February 20 Mr. Slavkov was remanded in custody and charged under Article 202, Para. 2, Item 1 in connection with Article 26, Para. 1 of the Penal Code, a charge which carries a maximum sentence of over ten years imprisonment on conviction.

The prosecutor's office announces that until now it has been established that the accused Slavkov had used public funds to the amount of 8,790 leva, 200 Deutsche marks and 220 Swiss francs to pay his son Todor Slavkov's air fares and other expenses on trips to the FRG, Switzerland, Italy and Canada. The prosecutor's office is checking tip-offs on Bulgarian Olympic Committee money being unlawfully spent in travelling expenses by other persons.

The investigators are also looking into illegal allocations from the budget of the Bulgarian Olympic Committee and the steering committee for Sofia's bid to host the Olympic winter games.

The prosecutor's office has allowed the accused Slavkov access to legal advice in the course of the investigation.

The prosecutor's office announcement comes after a plenum of the Bulgarian Olympic Committee, the "Football" weekly and some prominent Bulgarian coaches and athletes declared themselves in Mr. Slavkov's defence. A rally is called in Sofia tomorrow to urge for the case against him to be dropped.

Panel on Investigating Past 'Abuses' Meets

AU2703195690 Sofia BTA in English
1754 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 27 (BTA)—At its latest meeting on March 26, the Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry into the abuses and breaches of the Law committed by the former regime in state, public and economic life heard a briefing from Mr Evtim Stoyanov, prosecutor General of the Republic, on the progress of the preliminary investigative proceedings initiated in connection with the mass media disclosures about the labor camp which functioned near the town of Lovech between 1959 and 1962. The commission asked the investigation to proceed more efficiently.

The Parliamentary Panel assigned a working group of experts to look into the circumstances surrounding an oilfield prospecting and exploitation deal in Libya so as to identify the size of the damage which the state might have sustained.

Another inquiry was ordered into the damages and the responsibility of officials for the attempts to start the construction of sheet-iron homes, industrial and public buildings in keeping with the so-called "sheet-iron concept", actively promoted by Todor Zhivkov.

The commission considered the questions raised by Prof Khristo Erinin in interviews for Bulgarian Television and for the LITERATUREN FRONT weekly and concerning a misguided approach to the development of Bulgaria's iron and steel industry, the use of inefficient and outdated technologies and the environmental degradation resulting from an incorrect and incompetent operation of production facilities and from polluting manufacturing methods. It was resolved to inquire into the problems raised and to make the findings available to the competent authorities.

In connection with a story on the export of 25 metric tons of silver to Switzerland, carried in the opposition DEMOKRATSIYA the commission decided that the competent state authorities should find out whether the information is true and who are to blame.

Sofia Protesters Rally Against Pollution

AU2703182190 Sofia BTA in English 1653 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 27 (BTA)—Carrying black flags and chanting "We want life" and "Save our children", people living near a non-ferrous metal works and a chemical plant not far from Plovdiv today staged a rally in front of the National Assembly building here. Representatives of the protestors, accompanied by Mr Petur Slabakov, chairman of the Ecoglasnost Independent Association, handed a declaration insisting that the environmental pollution problem in that part of the country be considered at the session which the National Assembly will open tomorrow.

According to the Coordinating Council for Environmental Protection in the village of Kuklen near Plovdiv, the people find the National Assembly and the Council of Ministers decisions on the matter unsatisfactory. People believe that all hazardous productions should be halted and that screenings should be carried out at least of the children who are now susceptible to allergy, anemia and even mental retardation. "The situation in the area is explosive indeed, and patience is wearing thin," says Dr Matushka Mitova of the village. "If the plants stop, at least the air will be cleaned up as aerosols are the main vehicle of pollution. Coping with soil contamination represents a still more daunting problem because it will take scores of years and special remedial action."

Mr Angel Dimitrov, deputy chairman of the National Assembly, who received the declaration, believes that further time-consuming research is needed before the problem can be finally solved. The multitude reacted strongly to this reply, erupting in chants of "Answer now", "No more waiting", "We've had enough". The National Assembly deputy chairman was compelled to see the protestors in person and to assure them that the matter will be introduced at the session tomorrow.

Fatherland Front, Others Object to Nuclear Plant

AU2803092490 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 21 Mar 90 pp 1, 2

[Vladimir Raychev article: "Svishtov Plus Belene Nuclear Plant—Equals Zero"]

[Text] "....We beg you...to answer our questions, so that we may sound more convincing in explaining the requirement for building the nuclear power plant..." This letter to Academician Mako Dakov was sent long ago by the Svishtov Fatherland Front Committee and the local Committee of Environment Protection and Regeneration, and a lot of concrete has been poured on the building site of the Belene Nuclear Power Station since then.

The appeal for unanimous action evident from the picture attached to this article [the picture shows demonstrators carrying a banner with the inscription: "Svishtov Objects to the Belene Nuclear Plant"] is absolutely unmistakable. The 13 signatures on the letter to the Council of Ministers chairmen and the National Assembly chairman are also unmistakable. The document was signed by representatives of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], the Democratic Party, the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS], the Nikola Petkov BZNS, the Fatherland Front, Ecoglasnost, and by all other public forces in Svishtov.

Margarita Musakova, Fatherland Front Municipal Committee chairman, explained: "The mass media are trying to present the situation as a conflict between Svishtov and Belene, but it is actually a nationwide issue." This was confirmed by our first meetings with citizens on the street, such as Ani Georgieva from Samokov and Malina Dencheva from Lovech, both students of the "D. Tsenov" Higher Institute of Finance and Economics, who told us: "We are also against the nuclear plant. Why not build it in Balchik? Svishtov is also sinking."

Musakova's office serves for the first time as a meeting place for citizens who are active in public life. The discussion begins with accusations against the delegate to the 14th BCP Extraordinary Congress. "How does she dare to claim that we have nothing against the nuclear power stations, as long as guarantees for safety are provided?" "KNIPI TUGA [the Complex Scientific Research and Design Institute of Territorial Structure, Urban Planning, and Architecture] has drafted a plan and estimates for the cost of evacuating the area. The power plant's personnel are supposed to live in a special

settlement situated 30 kilometers from the city. Why are they cheating us by saying that a paradise on earth will be built here?" "There is no electric power in the city, just at the times when we need it most—in the early morning, at lunchtime, and in the late afternoon, when we come from work. They swear that they are not trying to blackmail us, how could we imagine such things....It means that these reactors are just garbage. It means that we are right."

The Svishtov citizens are right, as a matter of fact. Despite the increased social tension that persisted throughout the month of February, the Svishtov Ecoglasnost branch categorically rejected all accusations of unrest. The living chains proceeded peacefully and the famous "officer" truly existed, however, he did not reprimand the Belene building workers, but, on the contrary, admonished the Svishtov strikers. It is also not true that road signs have been crossed out....

Actually, let us ask for the causes of the clashes. How did it happen that two neighboring cities are confronting each other; how is it possible that newspapers should further fan the tension? Is it a case of unhealthy local ambitions, dishonest reporters, or are some other forces standing behind all this? Without underestimating the first two factors, I consider the third factor as the essential cause of the trouble.

It has been repeated all over again that our industry is wasting resources, energy resources in particular, in order to produce goods that are unfit for competition and in order to increase the inflation of the leva currency. Innumerable plans, programs, trends, strategies, and concepts were adopted in the course of the years.... The most regrettable thing, however, is not the fact that the results of such actions are appearing after 10-15 years. The most regrettable thing is that these years are counted only as the moment in which the programs are coming into effect. Such a moment is not envisioned for the time being, however....

Why is this so? Because group interests are affected. The years in which uncontrolled power could be exercised produced and promoted some powerful monopoly groups that are called "lobbies" in the West. Let us accept this word for the sake of convenience.

The "nuclear lobby" in Bulgaria has enough to lose. This applies to money, privileges, past and future prizes, premiums, and, last but not least, leading posts. Leading posts are involved. They permitted the individuals in question to deal with amounts worth billions, to travel "for the exchange of experience," and to send a parliamentary commission to the FRG in charge of collecting evaluations for the future Belene nuclear power plant. Is this the nearest place for inspecting a nuclear power plant? In that case, what did we build in Kozloduy?

As a matter of fact, the trip to the FRG might prove useful under all circumstances. It is perhaps expected that the commission will permit the further construction of the nuclear power plant by recommending a more reliable system of equipment, produced in the West. This should involve new missions abroad and further millions of expenditures....Articles published in the daily DUNAVSKI NOVINI, issued in Belene, do not leave any doubt: The construction of the plant is expected to continue. Should that be the personal opinion of the editors....or what?

Nevertheless, the citizens of Svishtov will not permit this. Economic Institute employee Timoshenko Mitev, who has been on a hunger strike since 12 February 1990, will not permit this. He has adopted the slogan: "I would rather die of hunger, than of radiation." The city's public organizations will not permit this. In an open letter they declared: "....the population of the area is ready to engage in resolute actions to protect the national interests. We object to the nuclear power plant.... and we will not agree to live in the vicinity of an installation that endangers our existence and that of future generations."

As a matter of fact, the construction has been stopped, the wolf is satiated, the lambs are alive, and the shepherd who has temporarily gotten rid of his radiation phobia is stocking up with candles. According to the Belene construction workers, this last action is absolutely required. This applies to the time being, because the plant "will be certainly built one day, only then we will have to work at full speed" (as Veselin Dubovski says). His conviction is shared by Tsvetan Dimitrov from Dekov Village, which is situated three kilometers away from the reactor. He says: "Since I am building this plant, I am not afraid. People are just not familiar with the technology. The lid of the reactor is monolithic, the isolating walls are 30 centimeters thicker than the ones in Kozloduy, and we are further fortifying the construction, even if this is not envisioned in the technical instructions."

Both the citizens of Svishtov and those of Belene can be reassured about one thing: The militia is on its post in the nuclear power plant. While one of the petty officers was always at our side, another one detained us until it was clarified whether we were entitled to take pictures of the idling cranes near the unconstructed reactor.

How long are they supposed to be idle? Forever in this place—is what 55,000 Svishtov citizens would answer.

Rights, Freedoms Movement Conference Ends

AU2703205290 Sofia BTA in English
1956 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 27 (BTA)—The Rights and Freedoms Movement, an organization with over 100,000 members, mostly ethnic Turks who hold Bulgarian citizenship, ended its national conference here today. It adopted a policy declaration setting forth the movement's social platform which covers unemployment, restoration of immovable property to repatriates from Turkey, and participation on equal terms in sociopolitical life. The platform lists demands on education, on the building of cultural clubs and theaters, on television time

for Turkish-language programs, etc. The economic platform takes into account the forthcoming transition to a market economy and foresees the establishment of private companies and organizations which could stabilize the country's economy and could eliminate unemployment in some Muslim-populated areas.

The conference adopted a declaration on the names of the Turkish population in Bulgaria, urging for a faster return of names by an administrative procedure before the electoral registers are compiled.

Mr Ahmed Dogan was elected president of the Rights and Freedoms Movement.

Data on Firearms Possession Reviewed

AU2703132490 Sofia BTA in English 1220 GMT 27 Mar 90

["Has the Bulgarian Weapons?"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, March 27 (BTA)—In 1989 the bodies of the Ministry of Interior have taken 778 pieces of illegally possessed firearms. This is data produced today in an interview run by the PULS weekly by Major Emil Kamenov, head of control on the Dangerous Means Office at the National Police. Another 2,498 pieces of firearms have also been given back voluntarily.

The major tells of other data: crimes, done by weapons and ammunitions in the period 1980-1984 were 269 and in 1985-1989 145. In the period 1985-9189 there were 60 people killed, 127 wounded and 57 suicides which makes an average of 25 killed Bulgarians per year.

By January 1, 1990, 85,070 pieces of hunting weapons, personal property of the members of the Hunting and Fishing Union was registered. Besides, there are another 6,000 pieces of hunting weapons which is a state property and is given to forest supervisors and guards.

Who can still carry a weapon?

According to a list from 1974, approved by the minister of interior, the right to weapons have senior officers of state power: president and vice-presidents of the State Council, chairman of the Council of Ministers, ministers, the leadership of the Supreme Court and the Chief Prosecutor's Office, prosecutors. Weapons were given years ago to some of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] members. According to Kamenov its number is insignificant. He also said that in his 16-year-long practice he does not remember submachine-guns and machine-guns to have been given or BCP committees to have been all armed at their workplaces. After November 10, 1989 a large part of the weapons given to the BCP activists have been taken away. "There is also an order, so in the near future there will be no party functionary who will possess weapons," Major Kamenov said in conclusion.

'Weaknesses' in Military Depolitization Noted

AU2703134990 Sofia SVOBODEN NAROD in Bulgarian No. 5, 7 Mar 90 p 7

[Georgi Todorov article: "The Depolitization of the Armed Forces and Militia Began and...Ended"]

[Text] Following the model of "past experience," we are carrying out changes in vitally important fields in such an easy, routine manner that the cosmetic changes in form have almost no effect upon the contents, and may best be compared with the proverb of Iliya changing his clothes, but not his character.

The publication of State Council Decree No. 126 is an event of immense importance. Its brief text proposes a radical change in the political and ideological spirit of the education and training of all the armed services and the "mailed fist" of the political superstructure.

As a reserve officer, I approve of this decree, but as a citizen and a journalist I am bound to work for its practical improvement, insofar as it has not been put into final effect through its approval by the National Assembly and insofar as the regulations for its application in the specific conditions of the different services have not been worked out.

What are the decree's weaknesses?

First of all, it ensures depolitization de jure, but not de facto. Conversely, it prohibits politization that is different from that which existed previously.

Article 1 of the decree, which provides for the formation of leadership organs for educational work in the Armed Forces, troops of the ministries and government departments, the People's Militia, and the Fire Brigade, is quite clear. However, in practice no new organs are formed, but instead the previous political organs and the entire establishment apparatus of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] in the "armed" institutions are reformed. Previously, these same cadres implemented the leading role of the BCP. Now they are becoming organs not simply for educational work, but once again for leadership.

In real terms, the task is carried out by the cadres of the previous political departments. Servicemen of all categories are not called upon to participate widely, in order to ensure that the forms and contents of the educational work correspond to their needs. The documents are being drafted centrally, following the extremely programmatic formula: "Let us include enough work to justify the existence of these organs." At the same time, the soldiers "down below" propose the formation of young soldiers organizations on a nonpolitical basis; the officers are seeking ways to set up a nonpolitical union "outside the service;" and the military journalists are asking how they will rid themselves of political passions and judgments and how they will transform the military publications into "general humanitarian" ones....

The changed BCP political organs remain almost in their old positions in all the Armed Forces, except that they are reformed into organs for supervising education. Does this guarantee depolitization?

The reformed political organs continue de facto to educate the Armed Forces, with their old stereotypes, ideology, and party affiliation, although de jure they have no right to apply these.... This contradiction flaws the juridical and diplomatic soundness of the normative document. The contradiction might, perhaps, have been avoided if the actual text of the decree had contained the prerequisites for forming the new organs on a broader democratic basis.

The point at issue here is not how the Communists have educated the Bulgarian soldier until now. The bias of the educational organs lies not in their party character, but in the fact that their formation was organized by a minority and that they lack specific professionalism. At the moment, they have on their staff hardly any specialists in general and military pedagogy or in teaching special subjects, in law, sociology, ethics, esthetics, art studies, general and military history, and so on. Can those who until recently performed party-political work in the Armed Forces overcome the inertia in their ways of thinking? Every pedagogue knows how dynamic stereotypes and natures are. I venture to assert that the dynamic stereotypes and natures of these cadres are heavily ingrained. Their membership in the party organizations at places of residence will also be a hindrance for them because in the official residential quarters and complexes their staff is the same as in the Army barracks.... The contradiction may also arise with the fact that "political activity is prohibited within the service, but the external party organization approves it." However, this is impossible; the serviceman is on duty 24 hours a day, and cannot split himself in two to follow two opposing tactics! This can only happen if the party organizations at places of residence evolve to such an extent that they begin to work to reorient the stereotypes of the cadres as follows: "Why, Comrade Petrov, did you agitate in the barracks yesterday in support of our manifest (or urge people to vote for our candidate in the elections)? We will report you to the commander and ask for you to be court-martialed!" This is very unlikely, is it not?

These are the thoughts that made me express doubt in the title of this article that the depolitization of the Armed Forces has been completed. It has hardly begun....

Policy Group Recommends Israeli Diplomatic Ties

AU2703195490 Sofia BTA in English
1749 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 27 (BTA)—The National Assembly Standing Committee on Foreign Policy recommended that the Council of Ministers re-establish Bulgaria's diplomatic relations with Israel at an ambassador level.

The committee ruled that the lack of diplomatic links between the two countries is inconsistent with the new positive processes taking place in this country and in international life.

The committee believes that the restoration of diplomatic relations with Israel should by no means damage Bulgaria's traditionally friendly relations with the Arab countries. It will not change Bulgaria's principled policy in support of a comprehensive peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict and of a just settlement of the Palestinian problem.

The committee heard reports from the ministers of foreign affairs and of foreign economic relations on a restructuring of this country's overseas missions and on staff cutbacks there with a view to reduce foreign currency expenditure.

Western Business Partners Sought

AU2703182390 Sofia BTA in English
1641 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Text] Bonn, March 27 (BTA correspondent)—Bulgaria wants partners in the West and is ready to do everything which is not against the law to attract them, Bulgarian diplomats and businessmen told their counterparts attending the CSCE Conference on Economic Cooperation here.

At a meeting today Mr Georgi Khadzhikov, deputy minister of foreign economic relations, told his audience about the Bulgarian Government's programme for a transition to market economy and about Bulgaria's economic crisis. He said that until a special statute is enacted, the State Council Decree on Economic Activity will be amended to give foreign partners a better motivation to cooperate with Bulgaria. Mr Khadzhikov believes that foreign investors are now reluctant mainly because the Bulgarian-based companies or subsidiaries have to finance themselves in foreign currency. The government can guarantee that things will change. Besides this, Bulgaria's Government hopes that the lev will gradually become a partially convertible and later on a fully convertible currency.

Bulgarian business executives outlined the country's economic priorities: agriculture, chemical and light industry and tourism. They mentioned lucrative investment projects in mechanical engineering, the electronic industry, metallurgy, the chemical and the biological industry and the construction of a modern transport and telecommunications infrastructure.

Dimitrov Speaks at EC Committee of Ministers

AU2703123390 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 25 Mar 90 p 1

[BTA report: "EC—Roof of Common Home"]

[Excerpts] Madrid, 24 March (BTA correspondent)—"How Should New Europe Be Constructed?"—this is the

subject of the two-day meeting of the EC Council of Ministers [the supreme organ of the organizations) that began today in Lisbon. In addition to the permanent members of this "Club of the 23" (the foreign ministers of the member countries), this meeting is attended for the first time by representatives of six East European countries. The Bulgarian delegation is led by Foreign Affairs Minister Boyko Dimitrov. [passage omitted]

In his speech, Boyko Dimitrov stressed that Bulgaria, as an integral party of Europe, wants to march with all European countries along the road of constructing new continental relations. He spoke about some of the factors that characterize the present democratic changes in Bulgaria and paid special attention to three of them: the declaration on the role and status of the roundtable, the roundtable agreement on the basic characteristics of democratizing the political situation in Bulgaria, and the guarantees about the peaceful transition to democracy. He also spoke about some of the most pressing practical political steps related to amending the Constitution and conducting free democratic elections in June.

Boyko Dimitrov expressed Bulgaria's willingness to develop close cooperation with the EC and to join this organization as a full-fledged member, something that would be a catalyst and guarantee of developing the processes of democratization."

Boyko Dimitrov met with the foreign ministers of the FRG, France, Greece, Yugoslavia, and Cyprus, and with EC President Jacques Delors.

Joint Federal Assembly Session Opens 27 Mar

LD2703121790 Prague CTK in English 0826 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Text] Prague March 27 (CTK)—A three-day joint session of the House of the People and the House of Nations of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly started here today.

On the agenda of the first day is a draft state budget for 1990.

Foreign Capital, Taxes Discussed

LD2703125390 Prague CTK in English 0934 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Text] Prague March 27 (CTK)—Enterprises with 100 per cent foreign capital can be set up in Czechoslovakia under a draft amendment to the bill on enterprises with foreign participation, discussed by the Czechoslovak Government at its Monday meeting which finished late at night.

The draft amendment contains restrictive provisions necessary for a temporary period before laws of the market become valid and the currency convertible. The restrictions include the duty to offer the State Bank earned foreign exchange and to ask the State Bank of Czechoslovakia for permission to set up a foreign currency account with a foreign bank.

As regards the problem of excessive purchases of Czechoslovak petrol by foreign tourists, the government decided to introduce a system of coupons for which foreign visitors can buy petrol at prices equivalent to those in their own countries. Czechoslovak citizens can buy petrol for crowns, at the present prices and without any limits.

A draft amendment to the law on income tax, discussed by the government, offers equal conditions for private businessmen as well as enterprises. The draft amendment abolishes tax exemption for economic activities of political parties in the future.

The principles of the new law on employment try to define the right to work, applied in tune with international conventions as a right of citizens who want to work, can work and seek work to a job, requalification and material security in case of a temporary loss of a job. The principles of the law considers the founding of labour offices with files of job-seekers and working opportunities.

State Budget Approved

LD2703231790 Prague CTK in English 1625 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Text] Prague March 27 (CTK)—The overall incomes of the Czechoslovak federation state budget for 1990 will be 137,304,800,000 crowns, while the overall expenditures will be 131,920,600,000 crowns, i.e., the state budget surplus will have a value of 5,384,200,000 crowns, according to the bill on state budget of the Czechoslovak federation for 1990 which was approved by the Czechoslovak parliament here today.

From the overall expenditures of the state budget of the Czechoslovak federation 76,269,900,000 crowns are earmarked for economy, science and technology, monetary and technical services, social services and activities, for the population, for defence and security and administration. 31,180,000,000 crowns are earmarked for military expenditures.

The overall incomes of the state budget are dominated by incomes from economy amounting to 116,263,688,000 crowns, from monetary and technical services amounting to 17,694,231,000 crowns and from defence and security amounting to 2,157,000 crowns.

A reasoned statement on the bill stressed at the same time that priority attention in the sphere of influence of the state budget will be laid on the creation of expressively anti-inflation conditions in national economy and on the influence of all economic instruments supporting the strategy of economic reform based on gradual and organized transfer to a market economy.

Transport Minister on Restricting Poles' Travel

LD2803105890 Prague Television Service in Czech 0847 GMT 28 Mar 90

[Speech by Transportation and Communications Minister Frantisek Podlena at the joint session of the Federal Assembly in Prague—live relay]

[Excerpt] Mr first deputy chairman, ladies and gentlemen deputies, allow me first of all to make a short comment: Although my temporary absence has been properly excused to the chairman of the Federal Assembly, I do see it, however, as my duty to excuse myself to you, too. This was not because of some petty reasons; I would like to say that I am currently conducting talks about some transportation issues with the transportion minister of the Polish Republic.

I would like to take this opportunity to inform you that on the basis of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic Government's previous talks, some fundamental restrictive measures have been adopted to ensure the protection of the domestic Czechoslovak market against the unhealthy buying up by foreign pseudo-tourists; an agreement has been adopted at the ministerial level that the Czechoslovak side will not accept any trains from the Polish side that are filled above capacity; and in order for Polish citizens to have easy transit through Czechoslovakia, a measure has been adopted, by agreement with the Ministry of Foreign Trade and the Central Administration and Customs, that Czechoslovakia will introduce a system of special transit trains on which Polish citizens will have only their passports checked and will not be checked by customs and will be accompanied by representatives of Czechoslovak customs offices. They

will travel through Czechoslovak territory without being able to leave the train in Czechoslovakia, and thus will not be able to harm the Czechoslovak market.

At the same time, some other travel measures have been adopted in cooperation with Interior Minister Mr. Sacher. We have agreed on a certain regulation of individual tourism by road; besides strict customs checks and customs penalties for possible customs offenses, there will be, on selected road routes, checks carried out to ensure strict and consistent observation of the Czechoslovak highway code and also checks on vehicles, which should result in the elimination from CSSR territory of vehicles that are not in proper technical condition. [passage omitted]

Dubcek on Assembly's Tasks, Czechoslovak Unity

LD2703180490 Prague CTK in English 1119 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Text] Prague March 27 (CTK)—Chairman of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly Alexander Dubcek told journalists here today that "though the Czechoslovak parliament is under extraordinary pressure of the public at present this does not mean that it will not adhere to its agenda and rules of parliamentary democracy". Speaking at a press conference preceding a three-day joint session of the parliament's two chambers that started today, Alexander Dubcek stressed that debates on new legal norms are complicated because the norms follow up the former laws. Especially complicated are debates on economic laws where the laws on private business and on enterprises is at the foreground of public interest.

The Federal Government failed to submit the bills to the parliament by March 5 and submitted them as late as on March 20. As the bills must be still discussed by the Czech and Slovak National Councils, they will be on the agenda of both chambers of parliament at their next joint session on April 18-20, Alexander Dubcek said.

Speaking about the atmosphere around debates on the change of the name of the state and modifications of state symbols, the parliament chairman said: "I am aware of the significance of strengthening the Czech and Slovak statehood but at the same time I am convinced that only one thing is needed: a common house, a firm Czechoslovak roof". He pointed out that during the establishment of the Czechoslovak state in 1918, Czech Tomas Garrigue Masaryk and Slovak Rastislav Stefanik stood faithfully side by side. "During the Slovak national uprising in 1944, we fought for Czechs and Slovaks to be able to live again in one state. We should now do our best to strengthen our togetherness and unanimity, to prevent passions aroused by those forces that shortly before World War II caused the split and later complete destruction of the Czechoslovak state", Alexander Dubcek emphasized.

He informed journalists that the change of the name of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, which has been valid since the declaration of the constitution in 1960, will be discussed by the parliament on Thursday.

As regards the parliament's exacting legislative activity, Alexander Dubcek said that before the parliamentary elections called for June 8, the parliament should still discuss forty amendments to the laws and new bills. This means that besides the joint session in April another session is planned for May 2-4 that would conclude the parliament's present activity and thus a pre-election campaign would be launched.

Market Pricing for Food To Be Introduced

AU2603112590 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Mar 90 p 1

[Zdenek Hoffmann report: "Direction: Market Fixing Mechanism for Food"]

[Excerpt] As we have learned, the Czech Republic's Ministry of Agriculture and Food has drafted a plan for the transition to market pricing for food. The proposal will be presented to the Economic Council of the Czech Republic in the very near future. On 1 July the ministry wants to free the prices of some vegetables and potatoes, eggs, and tobacco products. The freeing of the price of sugar is also under consideration.

Based on the experience acquired in this first transitional stage to market pricing, a further extension of market pricing is expected to begin on 1 October. Market price-fixing of other important foods, such as meat, including poultry, and milk, is expected after 1 January 1991.

Agriculture is therefore the area where we will first and most intensively experience market prices. An idea comes to my mind as to whether this will not be a portent of the development which we know from Poland. Let us not turn market pricing into a scarecrow. If the transition is reasonable, step by step, if the conditions preventing social shakeups are met, this measure can be helpful to our economy. That is the essence of the proposal by the Ministry of Agriculture and Food of the Czech Republic. [passage omitted]

Cuba To Repatriate Workers Now in Czechoslovakia

AU2703135090 Paris AFP in English 1336 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Text] Prague, March 27 (AFP)—The Cuban Government has decided to repatriate the 5,300 Cuban workers in Czechoslovakia before the end of the year, an official said here Tuesday [27 March].

Cubans have been coming to work in Czechoslovakia under a 1978 agreement between the two countries, and the last batch of 5,300 arrived in November for the traditional four-year stay.

Some 1,000 of them have already left for home, and the others will follow "in the next few months," a labour ministry official responsible for foreign workers said.

The move away from communist rule here late last year was followed by a marked cooling in Czechoslovak-Cuban relations.

Deputy Premier Meets With UN Economic Official

LD2703141990 Prague CTK in English 1028 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Text] Prague March 27 (CTK)—Czechoslovak First Deputy Premier Valtr Komarek received here today executive secretary of the U.N. Economic Commission for Europe Gerald Hinteregger, who is on a working visit to Czechoslovakia.

The two representatives discussed possible spheres of cooperation between the Economic Commission for Europe and Czechoslovakia, including the possibilities of using the commission's experts in solving the transition of the Czechoslovak economy towards the market economy.

Delegation Head Addresses CSCE Forum in Bonn

AU2603140990 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Mar 90 p 13

[CTK report: "Overcoming Economic Division of Europe"]

[Text] Bonn (from our correspondent)— Zdenko Pirek, acting head of the Czechoslovak delegation and deputy minister of foreign affairs, spoke at the CSCE meeting in Bonn on Tuesday [20 March].

He said, among other things, that the old continent's new architecture is formed, above all, by integration processes in West Europe as well as by the profound democratization changes in East and Central European countries. At the vanguard of this historic movement was the pan-European process. This became the basis for the philosophy of the new European identity, which assists in dealing with the problems of overcoming Europe's enduring division.

We hope the meeting will contribute to the formation of Europe-wide economic cooperation, which is one of the key elements in the creation of a new security system in Europe. The Czechoslovak delegate, in this context, supported the motion of FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl on the institutionalization of the Helsinki process.

Z. Pirek said: "We are greatly interested in the contribution of the Bonn conference to the maximal utilization of the economic dimension of the Helsinki process and to the convergence of economic interests and goals of the signatories of the CSCE Final Act. Therefore, the Czechoslovak delegation proposes that the Bonn conference give special attention to the problems of the transfer from the administrative-command system of management to the modern market economy.

"We are fully aware of the fact that problems will arise from the transfer to the market-oriented economy. Our economists, however, are seeking the best ways to reach this goal without social shocks."

Jaroslav Jakubec, the chairman of the Czechoslovak Chamber of Commerce and Industry, told the Bonn CTK correspondent that, so far, there is one idea he has missed at the conference. Cooperation, opportunities, and prospects were discussed. One of the hindrances to cooperation is the COCOM [Coordinating Committee on Export Controls] list, which still exists. Thus far, however, nothing has been heard in the speeches by the West European representatives regarding any change in COCOM policy.

Dubcek on Bilateral Ties With Korea

SK2403014890 Seoul CHUNGANG ILBO in Korean 22 Mar 90 p 3

[Report by correspondent Kim Tu-u on interview with Federal Assembly Chairman Alexander Dubcek by Korean reporters in Prague on 21 March]

[Text] In an interview with Korean reporters on 21 March in Prague, Alexander Dubcek, chairman of the Federal Assembly of Czechoslovakia, said: "Czechoslovakia has a keen interest in and affection for Korea's democratic progress and economic development."

Dubcek, who led the 1968 "Prague Spring" as first secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, indicating that "Czechoslovakia is faced with many obstacles in the course of its recent revolutionary changes," said that the introduction of a multiparty system, rights to private property, and improvement of human rights are the three pressing tasks facing his country.

[Reporter] Ambassadorial level diplomatic relations were established between Korea and Czechoslovakia on 22 March. How do you foresee the future of the development of relations between the two countries?

[Dubcek] The establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries will bring about rapid development of bilateral relations. There will be little difficulty in promoting cooperation as the two countries have enjoyed a high level of education and culture. Exchanges have already begun in some areas, and cooperation in the economic and sports sectors is also expected.

[Reporter] It has been known that democratic development in Czechoslovakia has been made smoothly without any sacrifice. Do you think that this smooth democratic development in Czechoslovakia will continue in the future too?

[Dubcek] In any country there must be bottlenecks in the course of revolutionary changes. It is true that Czechoslovakia is faced with unexpected difficulties in the course of its democratic reforms. However, all of us are making every effort in order not to repeat the failure we experienced in 1968.

[Reporter] What is the pressing task in the course of reform in Czechoslovakia?

[Dubcek] The pressing task is the introduction of a multiparty system in the political field and the rights to private property in the economic field. It is also important to improve relations with Western countries while promoting human rights. Works are now under way in Czechoslovakia to legislate various laws for the settlement of these tasks.

[Reporter] Korea, too, was faced with many difficulties in the course of democratization in the past years. Do you, as the leader of the "Prague Spring," have anything to say to the Korean people?

[Dubcek] I would like to express respect to the Korean people for their having achieved democracy. Korea can be a model in the development of Czechoslovakia as it has achieved an economic miracle despite hardships in democratic progress. The two countries are advancing toward the common goal of happiness and freedom. Therefore, there are many rooms for mutual cooperation between the two countries.

[Reporter] Do you have any plan to visit Korea in the near future?

[Dubcek] I may be able to visit Korea after the elections in June. I extend greetings and respect to the Korean people.

De Maiziere: 'Grand Coalition' Possible Soon

LD2803084290 Hamburg DPA in German 0707 GMT 28 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—In the view of the party and parliamentary group chairman of the Christian Democratic Union [CDU] in the GDR, Lothar de Maiziere, a grand coalition with the Social Democrats could be in place within two weeks. The position paper decided on by the Social Democratic Party parliamentary group for the informative talks beginning tomorrow contained views which the CDU supported, De Maiziere said to Deutchlandfunk today. This applies for example to guarantees for brothers, the protection of property rights, and the condition that GDR territory not be integrated militarily into NATO. Other factual questions were negotiated and could certainly be solved.

De Maiziere on Election Victory, Unification

AU2703145590 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 26 Mar 90 pp 122-126

[Interview with Lothar de Maiziere, chairman of the Christian Democratic Union, by Wolfram Bickerich and Hartmut Palmer in East Berlin; date not given: "We Need a Sensible Transition"]

[Text] [DER SPIEGEL] Mr. de Maiziere, why do you not want to become premier? After all, you were the leading candidate of your party.

[De Maiziere] This question is wrong. All that is true is that the question of who will become premier has not yet been decided. I did not say that it will not be me.

[DER SPIEGEL] Well, so do you want to become premier?

[De Maiziere] The responsible bodies of the party have not yet dealt with this issue, and the coalition talks have not started yet.

[DER SPIEGEL] Do you have the feeling that Bonn is trying to exert any pressure in this question?

[De Maiziere] Certainly not as far as this issue is concerned.

[DER SPIEGEL] In what other questions does it?

[De Maiziere] A few things have to be discussed as far as other questions are concerned.

[DER SPIEGEL] Even as far as the question of the members of the new government is concerned?

[De Maiziere] This is not possible, because the officials in Bonn do not know our people, but we do.

[DER SPIEGEL] Mr. Ruehe and Mr. Mischnick came here to help form a coalition. You went to Bonn on Wednesday. Are you not able to form the coalition yourself?

[De Maiziere] Of course we are. Mr. Ruehe only paid us a visit to ask about the state of affairs.

[DER SPIEGEL] On election day Helmut Kohl said that he was in favor of including the Social Democratic Party [SPD] of the GDR in the government; however, the SPD has so far rejected this. Are you still trying to find as wide a basis for your government as possible?

[De Maiziere] Yes, I am.

[DER SPIEGEL] Do you think it is possible to accept the SPD's conditions, which absolutely rule out being in one government together with your alliance partner, the German Social Union [DSU]?

[De Maiziere] This will have to be settled on the basis of negotiations.

[DER SPIEGEL] Would you be prepared to end the alliance with the DSU?

[De Maiziere] This is not a matter of discussion. We went into these elections as an alliance, and thus outlined a joint objective.

[DER SPIEGEL] Nevertheless, the alliance was not a marriage that was based on love. It was never anything other than a temporarily necessary joining of forces with no intention at all to restrict the individual parties' independence even in the least.

[De Maiziere] In a marriage based on love the involved parties become one. We are and remain three.

[DER SPIEGEL] Do all three have equal rights?

[De Maiziere] There is a difference between enjoying the same rights and enjoying the same respect. Of course, there will be proportional representation. Yet it will not be possible after the third trick to say that now that the jack trumps the queen.

[DER SPIEGEL] How would you describe your relationship with Helmut Kohl? Is it getting better?

[De Maiziere, laughing] What a perfidious question! It has never been bad.

[DER SPIEGEL] Has it ever been good?

[De Maiziere] At the beginning there was a lot of hesitation as to whether or not one could declare one's support for the GDR—or even for the past of the GDR's CDU. Once we met this question was settled.

[DER SPIEGEL] Do you mind that now it is actually Helmut Kohl who is considered to be the real winner of the GDR elections?

[De Maiziere] I think that there are different opinions, depending on the people and the area, as to who is the winner. Besides, I do not think one can make such a difference. It is not possible to win 41 percent of the vote only in the big cities; in all the villages, godforsaken

places, and kreis cities one must campaign intensively, which is exactly what my people did.

[DER SPIEGEL] And it was not Mr. Kohl who did it?

[De Maiziere] I did not say that. It has been a victory of the party.

[DER SPIEGEL] How does it feel to be a winner? Is it a feeling of having won a battle or do you already feel the burden of the problems?

[De Maiziere] First, I am not the kind of person that becomes overeuphoric. Second, it is kind of satisfying to find out that it was worthwhile having slept very little. Nevertheless, the incredibly immense problems are always on one's mind.

[DER SPIEGEL] Do you share our view, namely that the elections were decided not by the better program but by the chances of prosperity and the West [German] mark?

[De Maiziere] Are you familiar with our program?

[DER SPIEGEL] Yes, this is why we have asked this question.

[De Maiziere] You know from your experience, which is more than mine, that certain cuts have to be made in the course of an election campaign, to put it mildly. Statements containing more than five words are not very useful.

[DER SPIEGEL] Is this the price for democratic discussion?

[De Maiziere] Such election rallies are not necessarily what I like. I prefer other things. However, I believe that our voters do have a strong desire for unity. We were the first party to articulate this as early as December.

[DER SPIEGEL] Unity as the vehicle on the road toward the Deutsche mark.

[De Maiziere] The desire for unity is certainly linked with the hope for considerable economic improvements in this country. A social market economy will solve this problem. Applied consistently and without any ifs and buts this will be the only way out.

[DER SPIEGEL] A commentator in your country wrote that the reasons for your success were the fact that the voters wanted "a clear situation, no complaints about values in this country that are 'being washed down the river,' and no sentimentalism because of a lost identity." Would you subscribe to this point of view?

[De Maiziere] No.

[DER SPIEGEL] It is the opinion of the commentator of the CDU daily NEUE ZEIT.

[De Maiziere] This newspaper is no longer the party organ.

[DER SPIEGEL] Is it a matter of sentimentalism that there is concern about a loss of identity against the background of changing values in this country?

[De Maiziere] This must be taken very seriously. However, these questions do not affect a circle of people wide enough to decide elections. Besides, I do not believe that we in the GDR are losing our identity or that we already lost it, or that we lived with a wrong identity, if we had one at all.

[DER SPIEGEL] Thus, the election result could be regarded as running away from or as a consequence of this understanding?

[De Maiziere] If there is one identity it was certainly a split identity. Almost every night, 16 million GDR citizens committed the crime of attempting to escape the GDR by sitting in front of the television set [watching FRG programs]. The term "socialist German nation" has never been accepted, and neither was the term "socialist German national culture." One has always had the feeling of belonging to the German cultural area. There was a certain identity in the sphere of sports.

[DER SPIEGEL] After the first free elections, what objective can one show the GDR citizens? Had one not better do without it, because the GDR will soon be integrated in the united Germany anyway?

[De Maiziere] It is impossible to answer this question within four or five months. It will certainly be possible to solve the economic problems, although not overnight, yet certainly in the foreseeable future. Nevertheless, it will take much longer to solve the intellectual problems.

[DER SPIEGEL] The slogan "unity now," which was used by your friend in the alliance, Ebeling, does not seem to be fit for this challenge.

[De Maiziere] I think that the generation of people who are in their fifties, like I am, will never be able to completely forget the GDR. I do not even know whether we want this or whether we ought to want it. I suppose that maybe a new identity will emerge as West and East merge.

Somebody once said that the united Germany will move further to the north and become more Protestant. I think that the GDR will move further to the West while Germany will move further to the East. Over the years the GDR citizens have developed a relationship with East European culture, with places like Prague or Leningrad, for example.

[DER SPIEGEL] What could the GDR contribute to a future united Germany? New basic laws, or what?

[De Maiziere] You mentioned values. In this connection, the question of laws and morals also arises. These are two different things. I think that the solidarity that we experienced and practiced and the closeness that we experienced are values that should not simply disappear.

We also have—even if this resulted from the situation—special experiences with thrift. We have learned how to improvise.

[DER SPIEGEL] These are all virtues that resulted from hardships.

[De Maiziere] Yes, certainly. You do not have this situation and live in your waste-oriented society. Maybe we will succeed in not going that far.

[DER SPIEGEL] You mean that you may be able to avoid the mistakes of the capitalist, consumer-oriented society?

[De Maiziere] Well, you have come to the conclusion that the use of returnable bottles is advisable. They never ceased to exist in our country. There is no need to convince people of such things.

[DER SPIEGEL] Some people in the West are concerned that trees along the roads might be felled now.

[De Maiziere] It would be a catastrophe to cut them all down.

[DER SPIEGEL] However, what will happen if people in the GDR want wider highways?

[De Maiziere] In such case, there will have to be lanes to the left and the right of these wonderful trees.

[DER SPIEGEL] You just claimed that laws and morals are not congruent, but the right to work has been a moral demand in all societies. Should this achievement be abandoned?

[De Maiziere] I have recently had problems with the word "achievements."

[DER SPIEGEL] Let us use the term "element of culture."

[De Maiziere] Despite the right to work, we had latent unemployment. In many cases there was no real work for people. However, we paid high prices, if one takes into consideration the economic results! It is true that everybody has a right to work, but he must earn this right time and again.

[DER SPIEGEL] What about the right to housing?

[De Maiziere] I think that it is possible to implement this right.

[DER SPIEGEL] Should it be enshrined in the Constitution?

[De Maiziere] There is always a difference between something being stipulated in the Constitution and the way it is implemented in everyday life.

[DER SPIEGEL] Yes, certainly. However, the question is whether one wants to guarantee this right.

[De Maiziere] I would not object to that. It must be subject to the laws of competition, but one would certainly have to exert some kind of control here.

[DER SPIEGEL] Would you think we are wrong if we would note a certain affinity on your part with the FRG social committees?

[De Maiziere] No, I would not object to that.

[DER SPIEGEL] So you would not reject the tradition of the Ahlen program?

[De Maiziere] No. If one takes the term social market economy, it consists of two elements. I would not use small letters for the word "social" even if it is an adjective describing "market."

[DER SPIEGEL] What is more important for you: quick unification on the basis of Article 23, or a careful discussion of the conditions, basic needs, and the need for reform, as a result of which a decision could be made on the best variant?

[De Maiziere] I never used the word "quick." Our standpoint is that we want unity as fast as possible and we want to prepare it as well as possible. I think that the economic, monetary, and social union must be implemented as soon as possible.

[DER SPIEGEL] When?

[De Maiziere] I do not want to mention any dates because I do not want to fuel speculations.

[DER SPIEGEL] Will such a decision be announced in Bonn? Do you not think that it concerns both governments?

[De Maiziere] We must try to achieve unity by summer. GDR citizens want to travel, with Deutsche marks in their pockets.

[DER SPIEGEL] How do you want to solve the dilemma that people want to have something very quickly which is only growing slowly—namely prosperity?

[De Maiziere] I think that with this three-fold union...

[DER SPIEGEL] ...the economic, monetary, and social union..

[De Maiziere] ...conditions can be created that make it possible to conduct negotiations over a certain period. During the past few weeks, one had the feeling that it was no longer possible to act in the sphere of politics, but only to react. It must become possible again to assume an active role.

[DER SPIEGEL] Do you suggest that people should start thinking about things once they have Deutsche marks in their pockets?

[De Maiziere] I believe that the economic, monetary, and social union involves a bit more than what you are suggesting. This type of election rhetoric is not exactly

my style. The economic, monetary, and social union involves other things as well. As soon as the citizens see that our country's economy is improving and changing, they will have the feeling that we are making progress. If people in a small town suddenly see 10 hoisting machines...

[DER SPIEGEL] If they see what?

[De Maiziere] Hoisting machines. This was one of the essential things in our construction industry: Where do I get a hoisting machine so that I can repair the gutter? This was often impossible. A broken gutter caused the facade to fall off in three or four years. To repair the gutter would have cost 200 or 500 marks, but later the damage involved 100,000 marks.

[DER SPIEGEL] How do you want to ensure efficiency in the government? The administration will probably include people who have worked for years for a different system.

[De Maiziere] People generally realize that a lot of things went wrong in the economy. I also believe that people are able to learn.

[DER SPIEGEL] Elmar Pieroth has been designated as adviser and economics minister. Is this decision firm?

[De Maiziere] So far we have not changed our minds.

[DER SPIEGEL] Are you considering more imports from the West?

[De Maiziere] We believe that somebody must be responsible for the economy who knows the mechanisms and has already practiced them. I see no need for a similar move in other spheres. If I take a look at the list of the CDU [Christian Democratic Union] group members, I think I could organize a physicians' congress.

[DER SPIEGEL] Or a convent. Do you think you might rely on the help of advisers or state secretaries from Bonn?

[De Maiziere] One must differentiate between advisers and ministers.

[DER SPIEGEL] What will be the most difficult problem on the path toward unity?

[De Maiziere] One cannot say that one problem or another is particularly difficult. We are facing serious economic problems, but other problems that have nothing to do with unity—such as education—will be equally difficult. Or the GDR's legal situation: The GDR has to observe over 3,000 agreements. Obligations cannot simply be ignored if the state that concluded the treaties no longer exists.

[DER SPIEGEL] Do you think that it will be possible to link this legal system in a sensible way with the FRG's system? Or must one proceed from the premise that a capitalist economy must be based on a capitalist legal system, that the Western legal system must be adopted?

[De Maiziere] In the economy, Western—which is at the same time European—law must be adopted to a great extent. In the FRG, many laws have been harmonized with EC laws or are identical. When establishing the monetary union, conditions will have to be created that correspond to West European standards, in the sphere of investments, for example, in order to prevent only West Germans from investing in the present-day GDR. In my view, Japanese, French, and Belgians should have the same possibilities to invest. The only thing that counts should be the quality of the offer.

[DER SPIEGEL] This will result in a great deal of overtime for the People's Chamber.

[De Maiziere] The question is to what extent one can adopt the laws of other countries. There are certain spheres where the GDR's legal system has taken on development of its own, which is now deeply rooted in the people's consciousness.

[DER SPIEGEL] What spheres?

[De Maiziere] Just think of the your Section 218, concerning abortion. In this connection, we must do everything so that it will become easier to make a decision in favor of the child. However, it must ultimately be the woman who makes the decision.

[DER SPIEGEL] The FRG's CDU holds a completely different view on this issue.

[De Maiziere] This is part of our program.

[DER SPIEGEL] Are there similar differences on the ownership issue?

[De Maiziere] The ownership problems cannot be solved all at once. We need a development toward more private ownership, with a reasonable transition period. Concerning the issue of private ownership of apartments, I would categorically state that only those who had their residence here on 9 November are entitled to buy apartments.

[DER SPIEGEL] Does the GDR stand a chance of improving its economy unless it offers advantages as a low-wage country as compared with other countries?

[De Maiziere] Some low-wage countries are using low-wage technologies [Billiglohntechnologien], or have a shortage of skilled workers. This is not the case in the GDR. However, I think that wages will be lower here over a longer period of time.

[DER SPIEGEL] Thus, your country will be attractive for investors.

[De Maiziere] Yes, certainly. It is quite clear that wages must be increased gradually. Let me give you an example: If somebody decides not to buy his apartment as long as he pays 150 or 120 marks rent instead of 800, he has a correspondingly higher wage. For this reason,

one must arrive at a rent restriction that develops in accordance with the wage level.

[DER SPIEGEL] Your partner in the Alliance, Schnur, had to resign because of his cooperation with the Stasi state security system. Do you not think that either an honest assessment of the past or an amnesty, maybe also a burning of the Stasi files, are needed to prevent a witch hunt?

[De Maiziere] This is a very complicated question which will need some further discussion. The burning that you suggested would make a historic assessment impossible. However, I also see the danger of a witch hunt. We will have to think very carefully about how these two extremes can be avoided. I do not know an ideal solution at the moment.

[DER SPIEGEL] Every week new names of leading politicians who collaborated or allegedly collaborated with the Stasi are being mentioned. Do you think that an appeal to people's morals might cause those who must have known what they were doing to voluntarily withdraw from politics?

[De Maiziere] Certain changes and certain processes of improvement cannot take place overnight. Advice from others is often not very suitable in such sensitive fields.

[DER SPIEGEL] You yourself were also accused of having worked for the Stasi. You told us at the time that every lawyer had contact with the other side. Is is true that your contacts were strictly limited to this, that you never signed any statement from which obligations resulted, as Mr. Schnur did?

[De Maiziere] Yes, this is right.

[DER SPIEGEL] Are you not afraid that your leeway for decisions will get narrower the more complicated talks with the Bonn government become? Will the FRG Government not try to tell you time and again what should happen?

[De Maiziere] We will see how big our leeway is.

[DER SPIEGEL] Will you merely see how big it is, or will you try to increase it?

[De Maiziere] The people who live here have given me the mandate.

[DER SPIEGEL] Unification of the two German states is only possible if it is adopted by a two-thirds majority in the People's Chamber.

[De Maiziere] Yes, exactly.

[DER SPIEGEL] Will you make this clear to Mr. Kohl?

[De Maiziere] Certainly, I will.

[DER SPIEGEL] Thank you for the interview, Mr. de Maiziere.

Maleauda Elected DBD Leader in Legislature

LD2703170490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1500 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—In the People's Chamber legislative group of the Democratic Farmer's Party of Germany (DBD) was constituted on 27 March and elected party chairman Dr. Guenther Maleuda as its legislative group head. [passage omitted]

Republicans To Contest May Local Elections

LD2703181390 Hamburg DPA in German 1125 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (DPA)—The right-wing extremist Republicans intend to field their own candidates in the GDR local elections on 6 May in East Berlin and in Brandenburg. The party had entered a registration for East Berlin at the GDR People's Chamber last week, a spokesmen announced in West Berlin on Tuesday. A decision is expected this week. [passage omitted]

The East Berlin Republicans are calling, among other things, for a united, sovereign Germany with Berlin as capital, and want to implement an active and passive right to vote "for German citizens only."

LDP Changes Name, Prepares for Congress

LD2703170190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1240 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The approximately 110,000-member Liberal Democratic Party, LDP, will in the future represent liberal politics in the GDR under the name League of Free Democrats. This decision was made by an LDP delegates conference in Berlin today. It is also intended "immediately to appoint a joint committee with the Free Democratic Party of the Federal Republic of Germany in order to prepare a unification party congress, if possible this year."

The discussions, originally set as a joint delegate conference of the three alliance partners LDP, German Forum Party, and Free Democratic Party, were called off by the latter at short notice. According to LDP leader Rainer Ortleb, there were also minor differences during the meeting with the German Forum Party, which should be cleared up subsequently. The German Forum Party could join the League later. Also present was the parliamentary group leader of the Free Democratic Party in the Bonn Bundestag, Wolfgang Mischnick.

Social Democrats Support Statement on Boehme

LD2703172790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1421 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The legislative group of the GDR-SPD [GDR Social Democratic Party] has come out unanimously in support of the party executive's declaration of confidence in Ibrahim Boehme. It has been announced at an international news conference in Berlin

today that the legislative group is requesting him, after his recovery from an inflammation of the middle ear, to resume his function. Markus Meckel is acting as party chairman. Dr. Richard Schroeder has been appointed acting chairman of the legislative group.

Boehme Accepts People's Chamber Mandate

LD2703162190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1332 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Ibrahim Boehme, Social Democratic Party [SPD], is accepting his People's Chamber mandate. He declared this in Berlin today.

The SPD press office reports that this is aimed at avoiding possible misunderstandings. Boehme said yesterday he intends to suspend his People's Chamber mandate. However, this is not possible according to the electoral law.

In this statement yesterday Boehme was drawing the consequences from charges made against him of alleged activity for the former state security service. Until the files are examined, however, he will suspend his party offices, including the party chairmanship, the press office said.

SPD Deputies Meet for CDU Coalition Talks

LD2703093390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0832 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The parliamentary group of the GDR-SPD [Social Democratic Party] has met this morning for the first time in the People's Chamber building in Berlin. Under the chairmanship of acting parliamentary group chairman Richard Schroeder, the deputies discussed tasks relating to their future parliamentary activity. A division into working groups will take place to this end. Also on the agenda are an exchange of views on the possibility of information talks with the Christian Democratic Union about a coalition government. A working group on this will be appointed by the parliamentary group. SPD deputies from the Bonn Bundestag will be taking part in the parliamentary group session.

SPD parliamentary group business manager Alwin Ziel told ADN that the meeting will also consider the question of investigating People's Chamber deputies with regard to possible Stasi [State Security Service] work. "We want to propose that each individual deputy of ours applies to be examined", he said. This is also a challenge to other parliamentary groups to follow this example.

Negotiating Team Named

LD2803093190 East Belin ADN International Service in German 0853 GMT 28 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—In Berlin today, the presidium of the Social Democratic Party [SPD] party executive instructed a negotiating team headed by Markus Meckel, executive party chairman, to hold exploratory talks with the Christian Democratic Union. The talks are due to begin tomorrow in Berlin. The SPD press office informed ADN of this today. The team also includes Martin Gutzeit, Richard Schroeder, Prof. Frank Terpe, and Wolfgang Thierse. [passage omitted]

Stasi Campaign Said To Discredit Opposition

AU2803114290 Hamburg BILD in German 28 Mar 90 p 4

[Peter Brinkmann report: "Stasi—That Is The Way Its Defamation Strategy Works"]

[Text] Does the Soviet secret service, the KGB, together with Stasi [GDR State Security Service] agents, steer the campaign against Lothar de Maiziere, chairman of the GDR Christian Democratic Union [CDU], and Ibrahim Boehme, chairman of the GDR Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD]? Stasi General Engelhard (a former Stasi chief in Frankfurt/Oder and one of those who are internally responsible for disbanding the Stasi) has stressed in a letter that he is opposed to publication of the Stasi files.

The reason given by him: If the files were publicized, "certain interests of the Soviet Union would also be affected to a high degree." The Stasi was closely connected with the KGB. If the inter-connections were disclosed, the KGB espionage network would collapse. Three GDR ministers and the Government Commissioner in charge of disbanding the Stasi, Werner Fischer, were outraged and briefed the press on the general's letter yesterday [27 March].

The campaign against De Maiziere and Boehme is going on exactly according to an instruction given by Stasi headquarters. GDR Minister Pflugbeil (New Forum) read it at a news conference yesterday: "The reputation of those who are in the opposition is to be publicly discredited by untruthful as well as credible statements," and by "anonymous letters, intimate photos, and by the calculated spread of rumors." That is what happened with De Maiziere and Boehme. That is precisely the method with which SPD Deputy Chairman Meckel was to be finished off. When he came back from a vacation at the time when he was a village pastor, posters showing him naked had been put up on walls everywhere carrying the headline: "That is your pastor!" Meckel is a supporter of the nudist movement. Hans-Josef Horchem, the former chief of the Hamburg Office for the Protection of the Constitution, considers it possible that incriminating material on De Maiziere and Boehme is forged. He says that "if the point is to prevent others from taking power, the Stasi and the former Socialist Unity Party of Germany will do everything in their power to reach this goal."

Boehme Denies Reports on Stasi Past

AU2703122890 Hamburg BILD in German
27 Mar 90 pp 1, 4

[Report on interview with Ibrahim Boehme, Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) chairman, by Peter Brinkmann; place and date not given: "Always the Stasi—SPD Chief Boehme Suspends Offices"]

[Text] Pressed by suspicions of having been associated with the Stasi [State Security Service], Ibrahim Boehme, chief of the GDR Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD], is temporarily suspending his party offices and his seat in the People's Chamber. He rejected all reproaches once again on 26 March, calling for an independent body to examine his Stasi files.

Boehme, who is currently suffering from an inflammation of the middle ear, says: "I think that all reproaches will be clarified as of early next week. Then I hope to be able to return to the offices to which I was elected. I expect—or I hope at least—that I will be rehabilitated."

DER SPIEGEL had claimed that the SPD chairman had served the Stasi as a spy for many years.

Boehme: "There is nothing to it. All the other claims are not in accordance with the truth. "

However, Boehme had to admit that he knows some of the persons mentioned by DER SPIEGEL.

Boehme: "I trusted them, but I did not know that I was working for the Stasi."

The SPD Presidium backs its party chief.

It says in a statement: "Anonymous accusations made by Stasi collaborators without supporting evidence are not suitable to shake Ibrahim Boehme's credibility and integrity."

Until all accusations have been clarified, Markus Meckel will be acting party chief, while Richard Schroeder will be acting parliamentary group chairman.

Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS] Chairman Gregor Gysi, who was elected parliamentary group chairman of the successor party of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany on 26 March, intends to oust all former Stasi agents from his group.

Gysi: "We suggested that those who formerly worked for the Stasi for money should confide in me for a talk."

Concern Voiced Over Unproven Stasi Allegations

AU2703121890 Hamburg BILD in German
27 Mar 90 pp 1, 4

[Report on interview with Rainer Eppelmann, chairman of the GDR Democratic Awakening, by Peter Brinkmann; place and date not given: "Pastor Eppelmann: Hysteria and a Mood for Lynching"]

[Text] Werner Fischer, the GDR Government commissioner in charge of disbanding the Stasi [GDR State Security Service], is creating a feeling of uncertainty among the public by making unproven statements! Democratic Awakening chief Pastor Rainer Eppelmann makes this grave reproach in a BILD interview: "In this way, he is only creating hysteria and a mood for lynching."

[BILD] Following Wolfgang Schnur, your predecessor in office, Lothar de Maiziere, chief of the GDR Christian Democratic Union [CDU], and Ibrahim Boehme, chief of the GDR Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD], have also been accused now of having been Stasi agents. Do you think that is true?

[Eppelmann] There is nothing to it. I believe De Maiziere and Boehme.

[BILD] Are there no parallels to Wolfgang Schnur? In his case, too, statements in his honor were initially made as well.

[Eppelmann] Even though I had a negative experience with Wolfgang Schnur, that does not mean that I must have a negative experience with the two others as well. I assume that Lothar de Maiziere will become prime minister.

[BILD] Werner Fischer, the GDR Government commissioner in charge of disbanding the Stasi, claims, however, that there are serious indications about their Stasi activities. What do you think about Fischer?

[Eppelmann] I think that what he is currently doing is irresponsible and unpolitical. It is simply disastrous—much as I understand his effort to inform our society—to create feelings of uncertainty in the public by making unproved claims. Obviously he does not achieve anything by acting the way he is now. The only thing he is achieving is to create hysteria and a mood for lynching. Has he achieved anything at all? No, nothing. He should have quietly discussed his assumptions with the relevant institutions. However, he may have a hard time being quiet, even though it would be commensurate with his task.

Gysi Comments on Leaders Alleged Stasi Links

AU2803123190 Hamburg BILD in German
28 Mar 90 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Gregor Gysi, chairman of the Party of Democratic Socialism, by Peter Brinkmann; place and date not given: "Gysi: De Maiziere Not a Stasi Agent"]

[Text] [Brinkmann] Do you think that Lothar de Maiziere, chief of the Christian Democratic Union [CDU], and Ibrahim Boehme, chief of the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD], were Stasi [GDR State Security Service] agents?

[Gysi] I rule that out in the case of De Maiziere. As for Boehme, I do not know him sufficiently. However, I

want to make quite clear that as long as there is no evidence to support what has been claimed by anonymous persons, I am siding with him. I have the impression that an attempt is being made here to prove that the GDR as a whole is unable to make politics.

[Brinkmann] Should all people's chamber deputies be examined?

[Gysi] There was a safe internal chance to solve the problem, until Werner Fischer as the government commissioner in charge of disbanding the Stasi went public.

[Brinkmann] What type of possible solution was that?

[Gysi] An independent body of three persons was supposed to screen the deputies prior to the first People's Chamber meeting. That would have happened quietly. We would then have advised anyone who was a paid Stasi informer to resign. I do not know what will happen now. We surely cannot ruin the people. Now there is the danger that not only their spying activities but also all the intimate things will be disclosed that the Stasi collected in its files.

[Brinkmann] What chance do you see for your party in the local elections on 6 May?

[Gysi] We will advance one more step.

[Brinkmann] Hans Modrow is a candidate for People's Chamber president. Does he have a chance?

[Gysi] His odds are good, because so far, there is no convincing rival candidate. Somebody like Hans Ebeling of the German Social Union certainly is no alternative. Hans Modrow has proved that he can be impartial. In addition, he represents a generation which will hardly be represented in the new People's Chamber.

General Amnesty Urged for Former Stasi Staff

LD2803091990 Hamburg DPA in German 0723 GMT 28 Mar 90

[Text] Hamburg (DPA)—The Acting GDR State Council Chairman, Manfred Gerlach (LDP) [Liberal Democratic Party] has come out in favor of a general amnesty for the approximately 700,000 former staff members and informers of the state security service. In an interview with the newspaper "BILD" (Thursday edition) [March 22], Gerlach explained that in this way, a "chapter of history that has spread such a pestilential stench would be closed". However, the People's Chamber must make the decisions on this. The first politician to suggest a general anmesty was Federal Interior Minister Wolfgang Schaeuble (CDU) [Christian Democratic Union].

Gerlach regards it as essential for all People's Chamber deputies to be examined to determine their Stasi involvement. This is a question of the democratic credibility of the new parliament. There must be only deputies and ministers who have not worked for the Stasi.

Gerlach spoke in favor of Manfred Stolpe, consistory president of the Evangelical Church of Berlin-Brandenburg, as his successor in the office of GDR head of state. Stolpe "stands above the parties, has political authority and connections to the Federal Republic and the whole world", Gerlach said.

Alliance 90/Greens Urge Scrutiny of Deputies Files

LD2703175290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1041 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The fresh start of work by the freely-elected parliament should not be hampered by the suspicions, publicly cast, according to which a number of the newly-elected People's Chamber deputies have worked as informers for the former State Security Ministry. This emerges from a statement of the "Alliance 90/Greens" party group, read out at a press conference in Berlin today. The minister without portfolio, Gerd Poppe, announced that the communication appealed "with deep concern, to all those deputies of our country's People's Chamber elected on 18 March 90." It states: "It is clear that these suspicions can only be resolved through complete clarification of the basis of examination of the relevant files." The delegates of the party group considered it would be disastrous if this investigation were to be obstructed by intervention from the Prosecutor-General's Office. Examination of files affects neither the immunity of the deputies nor personal data protection. It has emerged from talks with the Socialist Democratic Party that they support these demands.

The government representative for the dissolution of the Office for National Security, Werner Fischer, reported that the prosecutor-general does not want the files examined, on the grounds of unconstitutionality and violation of individual rights. Two members of the three-man body entrusted with managing the dissolution of the Stasi supported this view last Thursday. Therefore, according to Fischer, who was the only one of the three government representatives to back investigation of the People's Chamber deputies, examination of the files is not possible. To guarantee that the investigations will advance, the formation of a corresponding parliamentary committee in the People's Chamber should be demanded, according to Gerd Poppe.

The organizers of the press conference reported about "alarming documents, which give great cause for concern." In this connection, a letter of protest from the former Stasi chief for the Frankfurt/Oder Area (Bezirk), now entrusted with the dissolution of the Office for National Security, Engelhardt, was read out. In it he warns that "investigations are only the start of an action with unforeseeable consequences." [passage omitted]

SPD Deputies Call for Stasi Files Access

LD2803133790 Hamburg DPA in German 1203 GMT 28 Mar 90

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—The members of the SPD [Social Democratic Party] People's Chamber group want

access to the files about them contained in the Stasi archives "at the soonest possible date." They sent a letter to this effect to the government's commissioners on the committee that is winding up the state security service. The 88 members of parliament intend by this step to counter the "suspicion of being open to blackmail" and to meet the demands made by citizens' movement and other parties for the screening of all 400 deputies for possible Stasi involvement.

To inspect the files, the SPD politicians named a representative and a state prosecutor in their confidence. In addition, they request that a representative of the church be present at the inspection. The letter goes on to say: "While observing personal and data confidentiality, the results of the scrutiny should be made known to the parliamentary group executive." The inspection of the files must be allowed to take place only with the agreement and in the presence of all the signatories of this letter. According to the SPD press office, it has been signed by all the members of the parliamentary group.

The SPD parliamentary group supports the call made by the 'Alliance 90' and the Greens for a demonstration on Thursday on the Alexanderplatz in East Berlin and in other bezirk capitals of the GDR.

According to SPD spokesman Vinzent Wobeser, the Social Democrats are calling on all citizens to take part in the protest rallies to back the call "No Theft in the People's Chamber."

Honecker, Others 'Unable To Stand Trial'

LD2803082790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0647 GMT 28 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Munich (ADN)—It is unlikely that there will be criminal proceedings against Erich Honecker and other former top Socialist Unity Party of Germany officials. GDR Deputy Prosecutor-General Lothar Reuter told the SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG that they are in such a poor state of health that "the whole lot of them are unable to stand trial." [passage omitted]

Government Urges Respect for Foreigners

LD2803104590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0901 GMT 28 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—"The political changes in our country and the development toward market economy bring with them a considerable degree of uncertainty." Foreign citizens are particularly affected by this, it is stressed in a statement from the acting GDR government, published today. It notes with great concern an increasingly negative and sometimes even hostile attitude toward foreign citizens. The government appeals, therefore, to all GDR citizens to respect and to recognize the dignity of every person living in the GDR, irrespective of nationality. "As Germans in particular, we have a special responsibility towards these people," the statement says.

It continues: "At present there is a tendency for enterprises to dismiss, or to force to return prematurely to their countries, foreign workers employed with them on the basis of government agreements. This contravenes the approved government agreements and disregards the legitimate interests of the foreign workers."

The acting government affirms that the existing agreements should be maintained and their observation by the enterprises enforced by all available legal means. [passage omitted]

State Bank President Discusses 1 Apr Reform

LD2703215190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0411 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A new banking system is being set up in the GDR that is taking into account the important experiences of Western financial institutions, particularly those of the FRG, but also bringing in something of its own. State Bank President Horst Kaminsky spoke about this in an interview with ADN to mark the bank reform that begins on 1 April. The future system would consist of a central bank, independent of the government and primarily responsible for monetary stability, and of commercial banks under various forms of ownership. Kaminsky drew attention to the fact that both the Federal Bank and FRG commercial banks and savings banks are providing extensive help in preparing for the market economy.

The president gave an assurance that the credits extended were materially covered. The annual report from the State Bank for 1989 showed credits to the economy amounting to 260 billion marks and credits of over 108 billion marks toward the financing of the housing program.

The opportunity of the forthcoming economic and monetary union, which contains inherent risks, must be used. It is a matter of linking foreign capital with one's own efforts to catch up quickly with the West European productivity levels. Kaminsky said it is a unique situation in the world for a purely domestic currency and a convertible currency, used by two national economies with a high level of development but completely different systems, to be linked together. Asked about a possible date for a monetary union, the president said that this has not been discussed yet in the commission of experts to which he belongs.

Currently, work is under way on regulations for the establishment of foreign bank branches. These will be submitted to the Council of Ministers shortly, in April. Kaminsky is assuming that even prior to monetary union the FRG and other banks will be able to receive permission to enter a particular sphere of activity.

Group on Safeguarding Competition Set Up

LD2703215390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1052 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Excerpt] A German-German working group for safeguarding competition in the GDR has been set up in Berlin today. The acting minister for light industry, Dr. Guenter Halm, and the Federal Monopolies Commission president, Professor Dr. Wolfgang Kartte, took part in the first meeting. The GDR politician was instructed by the government to take control of preparing for a central office for the safeguarding of competition, which should prevent monopolization in the GDR and safeguard competition in particular for small- and medium-sized enterprises. [passage omitted]

Official on Civilian Service Exemption

LD2603083990 Hamburg DPA in German 0807 GMT 26 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—At least half of the recruits who are at present doing their military service in the GDR Army are expected to apply to do civilian service, Klaus Pollmer, section chief responsible in the Ministry of Labor and Wages, said in an interview with DPA.

At present some 13,500 soldiers have applied to be accepted for civilian service, Pollmer said. But his ministry reckons that "at least 50 percent" of the recruits—35,000-40,000 men—will apply. This can be attributed above all to the "concept of the enemy no longer applying" after the opening of the borders. According to the "decree on civilian service" the GDR generally does without an "examination of conscience." The first GDR people doing civilian service will start their service on 7 May for 12 months.

New Domowina Chairman Elected

AU2303173190 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 Mar 90 p 3

[ADN/ND report: "New Domowina Chairman Elected"]

[Text] Bautzen—On 17 March, unaffiliated Bjarnat (Bernhard) Cyz, 38, was elected to be the new chairman of the League of Lausitz Sorbs. He received the majority of votes at the extraordinary national congress of the Domowina. In the draft of the new statute, which was presented to the delegates for decision, the Domowina is called the only national, independent, and self-sufficient organization of the Sorbs, a people which consists of about 60,000 members.

Election Results Point to Coalition Government

AU2703123490 Paris AFP in English 1144 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Excerpts] Budapest, March 27 (AFP)—The Hungarian elections look set to produce a weak coalition government instead of the strong cabinet the country will need to steer it through the crucial years of radical economic and social change, analysis of first round provisional results showed Tuesday.

Though conservative and centre-right parties dominated, none has a big enough majority to govern alone and prospecting for suitable coalition partners has already begun with nearly two weeks to go before the second round on April 8.

Latest results based on a tally of 88 per cent of votes cast last Sunday, give the centre-right Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF) 24.7 per cent, making it the overall winner.

The liberal Alliance of Free Democrats (SZDSZ) was in second place with 21.50 per cent and the conservative Independent Smallholders' Party (FKGP) in third place with 11.7 per cent.

The Hungarian Socialist Party formerly the Communist Party polled 10.80 per cent.

The MDF and the SZDSZ have both said they would be willing to form a coalition with the Smallholders who campaigned for collectivized lands to be returned to their former owners. However the two parties have ruled out forming a government which would include the HSP. [passage omitted]

The most most popular scenario put forward after the first round is a coalition led by the MDF with the MDF leader Joszef Antall as prime minister.

Mr. Antall says he hopes the MDF will win at least a third of seats in the 386-member parliament, enabling it to form a coalition with its "natural allies" the Smallholders and the Popular Christian-Democrats who polled 6.4 per cent.

If these three parties failed between them to win an absolute majority, Mr. Antall said they could count on the support of several independent MPs and could exploit the divisions in an opposition formed by the SZDSZ and the Socialists.

In fact, the SZDSZ and the HSP have already pledged "tacit" support for any government with a policy to rescue the economy with a minimum of social hardship for workers.

The SZDSZ liberals say they too would rule in partnership with the Smallholders plus the Federation of Young Democrats (FIDESZ) which won 8.9 per cent.

While the FIDESZ and the SZDSZ campaigned on similar themes, an alliance between them and the conservative Smallholders seems less likely. But the Liberals believe the Smallholders would show flexibility on land redistribution if it became part of a government coalition.

Summary of Regional Election Results Nationwide

LD2703145290 Budapest MTI in English 1254 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 27 (MTI)—The summary of 4,548,403 votes cast on regional lists nationwide:

Party	Vote	Percent
Hungarian Democratic Forum	1,126,479	24.77
Alliance of Free Democrats	982,629	21.60
Independent Smallholders' Party	541,459	11.90
Hungarian Socialist Party	488,767	10.75
Federation of Young Democrats	406,891	8.95
Christian Democratic People's Party	283,505	6.23
Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party	166,518	3.66
Social Democratic Party of Hungary	161,863	3.56
Agrarian Federation	142,588	3.13
Patriotic Electoral Coalition	86,297	1.90
Entrepreneurs' Party	86,251	1.90
Hungarian People's Party	33,677	0.74
Green Party of Hungary	12,714	0.28
Independent Smallholders' Party	9,944	0.22
Somogy Christian Coalition	5,966	0.13
Hungarian Cooperative and Agrarian Party	4,945	0.11
Independent Hungarian Democratic Party	2,954	0.06
Freedom Party	2,813	0.06
Hungarian Independence Party	2,143	0.05

Electoral Committee Publishes Preliminary Results

LD2703223390 Budapest MTI in English 2139 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 27 (MTI)—At an international press conference on Tuesday evening, the National Electoral Committee published the preliminary results of the parliamentary elections held on March 25, 1990.

64.99 per cent of those eligible to vote, voted for candidates in individual constituencies. The first round was successful in five individual constituencies. The following people have been elected to parliament:

Dr. Jozsef Debreczeni (Hungarian Democratic Forum): of the 21,026 valid votes, he received 10,709, which is 50.93 per cent.

Zoltan Deme (independent). of 27,390, got 14,669—53.55 per cent).

Miklos Nemeth (independent). of 29,112, got 17,458—59.96 per cent).

Dr. Erno Raffay (Hungarian Democratic forum). of 31,130, got 16,631, that is, 53.42 per cent.

Zoltan Kiraly (Hungarian Democratic Forum) of 38,583, got 25,261, that is, 65.47 per cent.

The first round was not valid in five individual constituencies, as less than half the voters turned out.

In regional constituencies, 63.15 per cent of citizens cast their votes on regional lists.

The national total percentages of valid votes for the individual parties are:-

Hungarian Democratic Forum	24.71
Alliance of Free Democrats	21.38
Independent Smallholders' Party	11.76
Hungarian Socialist Party	10.89
Federation of Young Democrats	8.94
Christian Democratic People's Party	6.46
Hungarian Socialist Workers's Party	3.68
Social Democratic Party of Hungary	3.55
Agrarian Federation	3.15
Entrepreneurs' Party	1.89
Patriotic Electoral Coalition	1.87
Hungarian People's Party	0.46
Hungarian Green Party	0.37
National Smallholders' Party	0.20
Somogy County Christian Coalition	0.12
Hungarian Cooperative and Agrarian Party	0.10
Independent Hungarian Democratic Party	0.06
Freedom Party	0.06
Hungarian Independence Party	0.04

There will be a re-run of the election in the five individual constituencies where fewer than half of those with a right to vote turned out.

In these constituencies, all the candidates who participated in the first round will be allowed to participate.

A run-off is required in all individual constituencies, save for the five listed in this item, as although more than half of citizens with a franchise turned out, none of the candidates obtained more than 50 per cent of the valid votes.

In these individual constituencies, only those candidates can run who obtained at least 15 per cent of the valid votes in the first round, or, in the absence of this condition, the three candidates who obtained the largest number of votes.

Voting was valid in all the regional constituencies, and so no second round is necessary.

The National Electoral Committee has called the second round of the elections for Sunday, April 8, 1990.

Mandates obtained on regional lists will be distributed by the regional electoral committees, possibly as early as this week.

The NEC will disclose to regional electoral committees the names of the parties that acquired more than four per cent, in other words, those that are eligible for mandates on the regional lists.

Should any candidate entitled to participate in the second round withdraw, he or she shall not be replaced by another person.

Under the law, the NEC communique need not include the number of valid votes, and for that reason it is not included.

The national total was calculated on the basis of 4,892,242 votes.

Final County, Regional Election Results

Pest County

LD2703170590 Budapest MTI in English 1553 GMT 27 Mar 90

["Elections - Final, Non-official Results in Pest County"—MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, March 27 (MTI)—The final totting up of Pest county regional lists was completed on Tuesday afternoon. The results seen in percentage terms are as follows:

Hungarian Democratic Forum	26.59
Alliance of Free Democrats	22.4
Independent Smallholders' Party	12.77
Federation of Young Democrats	9.85
Hungarian Socialist Party	9.17
Christian Democratic People's Party	8.29
Social Democratic Party of Hungary	9.21
Entrepreneurs' Party	2.87
Agrarian Federation	2.26
Hungarian People's Party	1.36

Patriotic Election Coalition	1.18

Budapest Region

LD2703150590 Budapest MTI in English 1248 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 27 (MTI)—In the Budapest regional election district, 93.08 percent of votes had been counted by 1 pm. on Tuesday.

The standings are as follows:

Party	vote	percent
Hungarian Democratic Forum	276,649	28.43
Alliance of Free Democrats	263,927	27.12
Hungarian Socialist Party	125,918	12.94
Federation of Young Democrats	112,520	11.56
Christian Democratic People's Party	55,542	5.70
Independent Smallholders' Party	48,440	4.97
Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party	40,210	4.13
Social Democratic Party of Hungary	34,095	3.50
Patriotic Electoral Coalition	15,575	1.60

Borsod Region

LD2703150990 Budapest MTI in English 1230 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 27 (MTI)—In the 911 regional voting circles of borsod-Abauj County, 579,779 people went to the polls.

The final result of the vote:

Hungarian Democratic Forum	23.55percent
Alliance of Free Democrats	15.92
Hungarian Socialist Party	14.13
Independent Smallholders' Party	9.91
Christian Democratic People's Party	9.32
Federation of Young Democrats	8.21
Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party	4.49
Agrarian Federation	4.05
Social Democratic Party of Hungary	3.57
Entrepreneurs' Party	2.08
Green Party of Hungary	2.06
Patriotic Electoral Coalition	1.47
Hungarian People's Party	1.32

Horn Concerned With 'Strong, Right-Wing Turn'

LD2803095290 Budapest MTI in English 0805 GMT 28 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 28 (MTI)—The Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP) [MSZP] should carry on with its process of renewal.

In its political platform, characterised by socialist-social democratic trends, the criterion of a new, modern, left wing should be more powerfully manifest, and civil, liberal and christian ethical values should not be excluded from it, either, Foreign Minister Gyula Horn, member of the HSP, said in an interview with Wednesday's NEPSZABADSAG.

Asked what he considers to be the greatest dangers in Hungary, Mr Horn said:

"From the political point of view, I'm worried about the prospect of parties endeavouring to vindicate their own views and concepts with exclusivity. In other words, I am very worried about a strong, right-wing turn. This would put a significant part of the population at a disadvantage.

"I'm particularly alarmed by new parties' endeavours to select ministerial and council officers based on their party membership: They're also extending this to the police force, the Army, diplomats and others. On the one hand, this is unacceptable, and on the other, it would mean that mainly qualified, experienced officers would be removed from public service. This move would do a great deal of damage to the country," Mr Horn said.

Asked about whether he sees a positive change in the position of the Romanian leadership regarding the Hungarian minority, Mr Horn said:

Asked about whether he sees a positive change in the position of the Romanian leadership regarding the Hungarian minority, Mr Horn said:

"One change is that firm action is now being taken in some places against instigators of nationalist outbursts.

"At the same time, the situation remains decidedly tense and dangerous. I am confident that the present Romanian leadership will not be led by possible election deliberations in taking the necessary measures," Mr Horn concluded.

Report on Alliances Forming in Bekes County

LD2703233190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Eva Cseh report from Bekes County]

[Text] One of the Bekes County candidates of the SZDSZ [Alliance of Free Democrats] has stepped down before the second round of the elections and is asking his electors to support the candidate of the FKP [Independent Smallholders Party]. In Bekes Country's No. 7 constituency, Dr. Zsolt Hevesi, SZDSZ member, would

figure in third place on the list of nominations in the second round. However, remembering the little coalition that evolved at the time of the 26 November referendum and its successful cooperation, the SZDSZ and FKP members of Medgyesegyhaza today issued an appeal in which they ask every SZDSZ and FKP member of Bekes County, as well as their sympathizers, to reciprocally support those candidates of the two parties who have obtained the best result in the first round. Thus, in Bekes County's No. 7 constituency, Dr. Zsolt Hevesi, the SZDSZ candidate, has stepped down and he supports Istvan Bakos, FKP candidate, who figures in second place after the MDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum]. Zoltan Fulop, candidate running in the colurs of FIDESZ [Federation of Young Democrats], also asks his former electors to vote for the FKP in the No. 7 constituency.

The Bekes County camp of the Federation of Political Prisoners also supports this concept, but similar reports have come also from the electoral districts of Bekes town, Oronshaza, and Gyula about today's discussions between the Free Democrats and the Smallholders.

Reaction of Parties to Election Results

Social Democrats Respond

LD2703211890 Budapest MTI in English 1957 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 27 (MTI)—'The four-decade communist dictatorship is over, the people voted for the parties they considered capable of implementing a radical and irreversible change of system. The voters acted wisely. At the same time, they knew relatively little about social democracy and the Social Democratic Party of Hungary,' Anna Petrasovits, president of the SDPH, told MTI in connection with the poor performance of her party.

'It was a considerable psychological burden on me to carry the weight of the campaign its managers based on my personality,' said Ms Petrasovits.

She added the managers' arguments had sounded convincing, and it may have been the single possible course of action at the time, as several groups had appeared in public claiming to be Social Democrats. This had prompted campaign managers to endow the party with a personal identity.

'After the German elections, we thought we would be able to secure 5 per cent,' said Ms Petrasovits.

'We fell 1.5 per cent short of this target. This is bad, as it means we can't now be in parliament.

'Still, the SDPH will do its best to help the economic and political situation stabilize in Hungary. That's why it will support the work of the government and parliament.

'It pledges to stand for a parliamentary democracy and for completing the change of system, as the election is only the first move,' said Ms Petrasovits.

Losing Parties Comment

LD2703133790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0500 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Here are opinions, based on today's newspapers, from those for whom last Sunday brought a disappointment. Janos Hollos reports.

[Hollos] The Patriotic Election Coalition has sent a telegram of thanks to its electoral candidates, for having represented, with dedication, the cause of the Coalition. In the end, because of the way the election results took shape, the candidates were placed in an unfair position. This means that the deputies running on the Coalition's list will not gain a seat in the new National Assembly. They include names such as Kalman Kulcsar, justice minister of the current government, and Istvan Kukorelli, constitutional lawyer, said Laszlo Aszatlos, chairman of the Coalition.

According to Bertalan Magyar, acting chairman of the Agrarian Alliance, they do not have a chance now; the most they have is hope. In his view, they lost the battle because they did not field an electoral candidate in Budapest. On the contrary, they deployed too many resources in County Pest during the campaign. [passage omitted]

The Entrepreneurs Party believed they were stronger. Now they are curious only about who, if anyone, will seek them out for their support in the second round.

Gyula Thurmer, MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] chairman, is of the view that his party has no reason to be ashamed, and public opinion will come to recognize what dangers a presumably right-wing government holds for the country. They, in any event, will continue their previous policy.

Most of the citizens had no idea, or scarcely any idea, about what was at stake in the elections. This is the opinion of Csaba Varga, national secretary of the Hungarian People's Party. Otherwise, they believed that one of the reasons for their party's falure is that after 1956, the Kadar regime successfully broke down populist-national awareness and made this valueless. The intention of the People's Party is to organize its ranks soon.

OVB Chairman on Possibility of Election Delay

LD2703151890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Text] [Announcer] Our correspondent Tibor Hollauer reports on the joint news conference of the National Election Committee, [OVB], The Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] and the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ].

[Hollauer] Are the outlines of the election picture beginning to emerge? Dr. Ferenc Kolozsvari, SZDSZ representative member of the National Election Committee, believes that it can not be precluded that persons unknown have and are deliberately holding back the election results. It has been revealed that at county levels—thus the statement on the findings—some persons unlawfully checked the details prior to allowing the data to be fed into the computer. The Interior Ministry Election Office is submitting incomplete material to the OVB, which does not allow the data to be checked. Dr. Pal Kara, secretary of the OVB, said that this puts into doubt the date of 8 April set for the second round. It may be that it will only be possible to hold the second round on 22 April. The OVB has requested the help of the premier and the interior minister in clarifying the situation.

Nemeth, Szuros Congratulate Mongolian Leaders

LD2703232390 Budapest MTI in English 1714 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 27 (MTI)—Hungarian Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth has sent a telegram to Sharavyn Gungaadorj, congratulating him on his election as chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic.

Matyas Szuros, interim president of the Republic of Hungary, has sent a congratulatory telegram to Gombojabyn Ochirbat to mark his election as chairman of the presidium of the people's Great Hural in the Mongolian People's Republic.

Anti-Romanian Rallies in Budapest Noted

AU2403170790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0909 GMT 24 mar 90

["Hostile Demonstrations in Front of Romania's Embassy in Budapest"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 24/3/1990—In a dispatch from Budapest, printed by "ROMANIA LIBERA" and "ADEVARUL," ROMPRES correspondent Sorin Petrescu writes: I have been in Budapest for several days now. I had the opportunity to take part in the colloquium of the Hungarian and Romanian intellectuals, witnessing a sincere, open dialogue pursuing understanding, a rapprochement between the two neighbour peoples. Unfortunately I also witnessed manifestations hostile to our country and people.

What was it?

In the evening of 21 March, at 18.00 hours [1600 GMT], a group of 10-15 young people hoisted the Hungarian flag on the fence in front of the building of the Romanian Embassy in Budapest and wrote extremely insulting words on the sidewalk. During that evening and night numerous calls were received at the embassy threatening and insulting the Romanian people, Romania, the staff of the embassy. The threat was uttered that the building would be destroyed in 48 hours.

The same evening, around 20.00 hours, when the ambassador returned to the mission, several citizens tried to attack his car and insulted him.

Throughout the day of 22 March, just as in the night of 22 to 23 March, these manifestations continued, a permanent watch team stopping cars and instigating the drivers to blow their horns, blocking the main entrance to the embassy. Billboards with the inscription "Embassy of killers" written in English, German and Hungarian were put on the fence in front of the building and a black flag was hoisted. Insulting words were painted on the sidewalk, right near the main entrance.

Starting the evening of 22 March, the group built a brick fireplace, the atmosphere becoming degrading and insalubrious.

All this seriously affects the normal activity of the embassy.

I have seen and noted all this in Budapest, in front of the Romanian Embassy. But also here, in Hungary's capital city, I read the interview granted by the Hungarian ambassador in Bucharest to "NEPSZABADSAG" who says that on 22 March a demonstration was organized in front of the Hungarian Embassy in Bucharest by the Liberal Party and the students' trade unions. The Hungarian ambassador, Pal Szuts, assesses that he did not note any extremist, chauvinistic manifestation. Consequently he received a delegation of students and intellectuals with whom he talked for one and a half hour in civilized conditions of perfect order. When he saw the delegation off to the gates of the embassy he was received with applause by the Romanian demonstrators.

As a Romanian I am distressed by the insulting inscriptions in front of the embassy against the Romanian people and I remember the nice thoughts expressed only three days ago at the meeting between the Romanian and Hungarian intellectuals.

Democratic Forum Briefing on Nationalities

LD2703155590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Text] Many people here at home, and abroad as well, have been speculating about how the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF], which can be regarded as victorious, will prepare for government. Attila Miklos Nemeth attended their morning press briefing, and nationality issues also entered the discussion here.

[Begin Nemeth recording] Several hundred refugees are again coming in daily from Romania. Serving as proof that this is the direct consequence of the Transylvanian pogroms against the Magyars is that 99 percent of the refugees are Magyar. Earlier, this proportion was only two-thirds. At present, our country is providing a final or temporary home for 26,400 Romanian refugees,

according to a representative of the Interior Ministry's Office for Refugees' Affairs, Dr. Judit Toth.

The artificial assimilation of people living as minorities in Europe must be halted, and they must be guaranteed local, linguistic, cultural, and where possible, regional autonomy, Lajos Fuer, nationality expert of MDF, said. He added that in this region of Europe, the fate of the minorities is not the internal matter of individual countries.

MDF would like to guarantee the most democratic rights for the nationalities living in our country, just as for the Magyars living in the surrounding countries. At the same time, we shall not violate the sovereignty of our neighbors, we wish to solve their problems, in cooperation with them.

According to Sandor Kanyadi, Magyar writer in Romania, the Romanians are very afraid of the expression autonomy, because they are not acquainted with its concrete contents. He said that Timisoara is Romania's most European city, where they would like to establish economic independence, and with whose help the Bansaq could be Romania's locomotive. He also praised the people there, mentioning them as examples with regard to some Romanian politicians, who, with their decisions which did not help rapprochement to Europe and with their contradictory statements, hamper rather than promote progress.

Sandor Kanyadi also asked the international press to ascertain, in Romania, the truth of the reports that have emerged, and to exert pressure on their governments, because only through an international rallying of forces will the Magyardom in Romania have hope. [end recording]

TV Official Receives Death Threat From Romania

LD2703170290 Budapest MTI in English 1457 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 27 (MTI)—Alajos Chrudinak, foreign political editor-in-chief of Hungarian Television, has received a threatening letter in Hungarian bearing the signature of the nationalistic Romanian organization "Vatra Romaneasca".

The message says that the Vatra Romaneasca leaders have sentenced Chrudinak to death, and will order their emissaries in Budapest to carry out the sentence within 72 hours.

"Even with the most terrible death, you would be getting off lightly in view of all you have done against Romania. That's why you have to die," the letter runs.

As it is now known who sent the message, it is also uncertain whether they are in contact with the Romanian organization, or whether it was an individual act of provocation, or possibly a sick joke.

Hungarian Television leaders have requested police protection for the "Panorama" team ("Panorama" is a weekly current affairs programme on Hungarian TV) and the editor-in-chief.

MTI Reports Diplomatic Car Bombings in Athens

LD2703160290 Budapest MTI in English 1406 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 27 (MTI)—Twelve Hungarian diplomatic cars were blown up in Athens, including the Peugeot of military attache Laszlo Hajdu and the Skoda Favorit of secretary Erzsebet Szatmar.

Citing eyewitnesses, the police said the perpetrators were probably youngsters on motorcycle who placed a bomb under the cars and then blew them up from a distance of 60-80 metres.

The cars were irreparably damaged, and the windows of the nearby buildings broke. There was no personal injury.

Similar attacks were launched against cars in Soviet, Czechoslovak and Bulgarian ownership, and reportedly against Syrian and PLO cars as well.

According to phone calls received by Greek newspapers, the attempts were made by a group calling itself "Social Resistance".

As the possibility of further attempts cannot be completely ruled out, the Hungarian Foreign Ministry, in cooperation with the Greek authorities, has taken all possible precautionary measures, the Budapest newspaper "ESTI HIRLAP" said on Tuesday.

Futher on Bombings; No Injuries

LD2703161890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Telephone interview with Laszlo Vamos, press attache at the Hungarian Embassy in Athens, by Vali Toth; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Toth] We received the news from MTI at 0703 today that unknown persons in Athens had blown up several foreign vehicles, including some Hungarian ones. What did actually happen?

[Vamos] Unfortunately, the news is true. According to today's news on Greek Radio, 12 cars with diplomatic license plates, or embassy vehicles, were blown up. Unfortunately, these included two Hungarian cars. The car of the military attache, and the car of the ambassador's secretary, were blown up. No one was injured.

[Toth] According to your information, was this an act against the Hungarians or was this coincidental?

[Vamos] It is virtually impossible that this was aimed at the Hungarians, because then the others would not have been blown up. It is not possible to know at this time

what the motive was. Our first secretary is at the Foreign Ministry at present, where he made a statement and also formally reported the case. We have asked for the case to be investigated as soon as possible, but so far have not received an official reply.

[Toth] Is it possible to know anything about this Social Resistance?

[Vamos] No, nothing—it is completely unknown. Here in Greece the 17 November organization is the best known and, unfortunately, the most active. This group has until now been completely unknown; we made inquiries, too, and nothing is known about it.

[Toth] It is grounds for concern in Budapest these days that Arab terrorists threatened the Malev airlines. Since there was the question of Syrian and Palestinian vehicles, can it be imagined that even indirectly this could be connected with such threats?

[Vamos] Look, to enter into speculations would be completely irresponsible. Until recently we did not know that Syrian and Palestinian cars were also blown up; our first reaction this morning at the embassy was also that perhaps there is such a connection. But I simply cannot say anything; we do not know. What I would like to ask you is to announce, if possible, that every member of the Hungarian community is safe and uninjured.

Jewish Activist Warns of Hunger Strike

LD2703091890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0500 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Text] [Announcer] Last week, Malev [Hungarian airlines] announced that because of a threat from Arab terrorists it is halting its flights carrying emigrating Jews to Israel. A group of would-be emigrants is planning a hunger strike in Leningrad in protest. A large number of the emigres have sold their homes, so Malev will soon have to find a solution to their problems. Jozsef Barath reports:

[Barath] Janos Papp, Malev's leading representative in Moscow, replied to my question that the airline is trying to agree with Aeroflot on the transportation of the emigres, and that accommodation is being provided for those in need, their expenses for food are being covered. According to [word indistinct] so far no one has been given this option in Leningrad. The Jewish activist said that if the Leningrad hunger strike does not yield a result, they will be joined by inhabitants of Kiev and Lvov. The main slogans of the hunger strike are: Lo and behold, the first steps of Hungarian democracy; Selection Hungarian-style; Malev supports the terrorists.

Malev Airline Again Suspends Flights to Beirut

LD2703204390 Budapest MTI in English 1712 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 27 (MTI)—Only just after resuming its flights to Beirut on March 16, the Hungarian airline Malev has once again suspended the Beirut service, MTI was told by Ferenc Urban, department head at Malev.

Malev halted Budapest-Beirut flights because of the war in Lebanon in 1985, which made the airspace of the Lebanese capital not safe enough.

The March 16 trial flight this year came after extensive negotiations lasting several months, and was also promoted by advantageous economic considerations.

Lebanese airspace has once again become unsafe, prompting Malev to freeze regular flights.

As regards the emigration of Soviet Jews via Budapest and the related terrorist threats, Mr Urban said Malev's position remained unchanged despite the Israeli reaction and the statement by the Hungarian Government: in other words, Malev will still not be taking Soviet emigrants to Israel. This decision was taken solely in the interest of passengers' safety.

The regular, three-times-weekly Budapest-Tel Aviv flights will be unaffected. The threat was directed at flights and offices of those air lines which cooperate in transporting emigrants.

While it is possible to protect flights, making airports and offices safe is much more difficult, he said.

Multilateral negotiations are now under way between Malev, Aeroflot and El-Al to solve the problem. Mr Urban thinks it is after all the Soviet and Israeli side that should tackle the problem, and that the safety of the mediators should not be threatened.

It seems feasible, for instance, to involve only the Soviet and Israeli airlines in transporting emigrants, with Budapest participating only as a transit route, as there is no direct flight between Moscow and Tel Aviv.

Mazowiecki Receives Award, Ends U.S. Tour

LD2703125890 Warsaw PAP in English 0918 GMT 27 Mar 90

[By PAP reporters Jerzy Gorski and Adolf Reut]

[Text] New York, March 27—Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki ended his American tour on Monday [26 March].

While in New York, he met with David Rockefeller, dined with the Council for Foreign Relations, visited St. John's Cathedral to collect the Peace Award given to him by the Trusteeship Council, and attended a reception with American bankers, organized by former Assistant Secretary of State John C. Whitehead.

Meeting With Rockefeller

Welcoming Prime Minister Mazowiecki, David Rockefeller stressed the lively interest in Polish affairs on the part of the institutions he represented. He admitted he knew about difficulties Poland was going through and expressed hope she would succeed in overcoming them.

Rockefeller pointed to regular relations his financial institutions always maintained with Poland even at most difficult times and said they wished those relations to develop.

Prime Minister Mazowiecki expressed his great satisfaction at having the opportunity to meet Rockefeller and hold profound talks with him which might help further expand Polish-American economic ties. "We are particularly interested in cooperation in developing the Polish farming and food industry, Mazowiecki said. [no end quotation marks as received]

At Council For Foreign Relations

Also yesterday, Prime Minister Mazowiecki was hosted by members of the Council for Foreign Relations. They discussed Poland's security, her new position in Europe and the future construction of the order in Europe against the background of Germany's unification.

They spoke about a need for a treaty recognizing the borders in Europe, and mainly the Polish-German border, and about a necessity to guarantee security for all European countries.

At St. John's Cathedral

At a ceremony held at the St. John's Cathedral, Tadeusz Mazowiecki received a peace award. The speakers at the meeting recalled the role Mazowiecki played in developing the idea of democracy, freedom, moral values in politics in the process of transformations in Poland and Europe.

The floor was taken by leaders of different religious communities in New York and congressman Steve Solarz.

While thanking for the award, Prime Minister Mazowiecki said that everything they were working on served above all the cause of peace, international peace and peace of mind.

Calls Visit 'Very Important'

LD2803100690 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Excerpts] Tadeusz Mazowiecki has ended his visit to the United States. [passage omitted]

[Begin Mazowiecki recording] I think this visit represents a very important and qualitative step in Polish-American relations. We all know that relations of such emotional closeness between the Polish people and the American people have, in fact, always gone on uninterrupted. But at the state level there have been, let's say, ups and downs. I think this visit inaugurates a new period of relations at the state level, and for me it is cheering and important that the United States sees Poland as a significant factor in European politics, in this changing, new Europe.

I also wanted to make the United States see Poland as a significant subject of economic policy, and I think that this has probably taken place. That this understanding by the President, by the administration, very much by the Congress, and by public opinion, and I met the very interesting community of the Council for Foreign Relations where there are a great many prominent people in diplomacy and politics, as well as business circles, that everywhere there is this interest in Poland and the treatment of Poland as a significant factor [sentence as heard] [end recording]

Notes New 'Role' for Poland

LD2803102490 Warsaw PAP in English 2153 GMT 27 Mar 90

[By PAP reporters Jerzy Gorski and Adolf Reut]

[Text] New York, March 27—Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki held a press conference for a group of Polish newsmen late in the evening on Monday, the last day of his visit to the United States. This is what he told the Polish journalists on the results of his visit:

"Personally I think that the visit was useful and brought about certain significant effects. Anyway, this is what I expect. Today America treats Poland as a democratic state, a state of free people, a sovereign state and wants to fashion its relations with Poland on such a plane. Moreover I think that during the visit (...) we were able to show America Poland's place and role in a future Europe which is undergoing change. I consider this to be very important, that is Poland's position and role between a Germany heading for unification on the one side and on the other hand between the great transformations taking place in the Soviet Union as well as Central Europe."

PAP Reports Mazowiecki Address in N.Y.

LD2803100490 Warsaw PAP in English
0210 GMT 28 Mar 90

[By PAP correspondents Zerzy Gorski and Adolf Reut]

[Text] New York, March 27—Polish Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki addressed the council of Foreign Relations on the last day of his visit to the U.S. following are highlights of his address:

Being a precursor of changes in Central and Eastern Europe, Poland seizes opportunities provided by the regaining of freedom and sovereignty, working to establish institutional and legal frameworks for democracy and market economy. We do this preserving full stability, without shocks, in an evolutionary but also in a consistent way.

The fate of Poles is in their hands and we want to return to normality both in politics and economy as swiftly as possible. We want to take part in building political architecture of Europe in which we will be free and secure.

In this context, we support progress in negotiations on the reduction of conventional weapons. NATO and Warsaw Treaty should turn into organizations being a forum of political consultations, rather than aggressive groupings, and finally disappear. We must be sure that the partitioning of Poland and the shifting or questioning of our borders will not recur. This is also a measure of normality for which we strive in the context of our western border.

Mazowiecki Holds 'Working Visit' With Mulroney

LD2803102590 Warsaw PAP in English
1940 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Excerpts] Ottawa, March 27—Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki arrived from the United States here today for a one-day working visit, the AFP agency reported.

Mazowiecki was greeted in the Upland Military Base outside Ottawa by Canadian Vice-Premier Donald Mazankowski. [passage omitted]

Mazowiecki and Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney held an hour-plus talk at the Mulroney's residence. Following the meeting the two made short statements for the press.

Mulroney said that he discussed comprehensive bilateral relations, stating that Canada intends to expand commercial relations with Poland. He also announce that he was happy to accept an invitation to pay an official visit to Poland in the nearest future.

The Canadian prime minister stressed that during the meeting with Mazowiecki he also discussed many international matters, including the unification of Germany and Polish-Soviet relations. He stated that the talks proceeded in a very cordial, sincere and matter-of-fact atmosphere.

For his part, Mazowiecki said that he shared the Canadian prime minister's view on the talks. "I assess these talks as very useful and open," he added, stressing that Poland valued Canada's presence in European matters. "Canada through its roots belongs to Europe and we want Canada's presence in Europe just as we wish to expand cooperation with it," he said.

Mazowiecki said he was satisfied with the exchange of views on the unification of Germany and matters relating to Poland's debt owed to the Paris Club.

"I am glad that a Canadian delegation headed by Deputy Prime Minister Mazenkowski arrives in Poland this coming Friday along with many Canadian businessmen. We are counting on an intensification of Polish-Canadian economic cooperation," Mazowiecki told the newsmen.

Canada Visit Ends

LD2803103990 Warsaw PAP in English
0823 GMT 28 Mar 90

[By PAP special reporter Jerzy Gorski]

[Text] Ottawa, March 28—Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki ended his several-hour visit to Canada Tuesday evening. During the stay Premier Mazowiecki met with Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and with Cabinet members. He also called on the Governor-General of Canada Ramon Hnatyshyn.

During a press conference, Premier Mazowiecki stressed that the goal of his Canadian visit was to discuss important issues concerning bilateral relations and a number of international problems.

We attach special importance to our economic contacts, including cooperation with Canadian businessmen. Poland is very particular about Canada's presence in European affairs and her engagement in the process of European transformations, said Mazowiecki.

Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki recalled that Poland was the initiator of the foundation of the European Cooperation Council, which should facilitate the rapprochement process between Western and Central-Eastern Europe.

The Polish premier also stressed the importance which Poland attaches to the durability of borders in Europe, especially Poland's western border. We would like for this border to be confirmed in treaties, so that the entrance into a new phase of relations with united Germany would take place without burdens of the past, said the premier.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki told journalists that he invited Brian Mulroney to pay a visit to Poland and stressed that he attaches considerable significance to this visit.

Premier Mazowiecki also met with representatives of Polonian organizations and milieus. They expressed their readiness to consolidate contacts with Poland and to support the historic process of transformations taking place in the old country.

The Polish prime minister called on governor-general of Canada Ramon Hnatyshyn. The governor expressed his satisfaction over the meeting with the premier, a representative of Polish democratic and reform-oriented forces.

Mazowiecki Notes 'New Stage' in U.S. Ties

LD2803144490 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 28 Mar 90

[Text] Tadeusz Mazowiecki, the premier of the Polish Republic, returned an hour ago from a seven-day visit to the United States and Canada. Just after landing at the military airport in Okecie in Warsaw he told journalists: After this visit I can say that it ushered in a new stage in relations between Poland and the United States and Canada. In many of the most important matters of foreign policy we have attained a better understanding. I also regard the signing of an economic treaty with the United States as important. U.S. and Canadian businessmen have certainly been encouraged to invest in Poland. During a short visit in Canada we presented our views on all the most important political questions. In the nearest future two important delegations should be expected in Poland. I also invited the premier of Canada to pay a visit to Poland. Meetings with the U.S. and Canadian public need to be particularly emphasized, as well as in the milieus where opinion is formed in those countries.

Columnist Urges 'New Quality' in German Ties

PM2603144490 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 10 Mar 90 p 10

[Ryszard Wojna article: "Attention—Booby Trap!"]

[Text] Events taking place today here in Poland, around us, and further afield in Europe will decide our Polish destiny for a very long period in our future history. Consequently, we should show great care and a keen sense of responsibility in the way in which we direct our foreign policy so that we can distinguish between a short-term political skirmish—even if it concerns matters of the utmost importance—and a predominant historical tendency of the approaching period.

The main direction of our diplomacy should be geared to recognizing this tendency and creating favorable conditions for taking advantage of the opportunities it opens up for us.

Instead, our diplomacy has recently been forced to adopt a different line. Chancellor Kohl's tactics placed us in a situation in which our complexes and traumas—or, to put it frankly, our anti-German animosities—simply had to surface again.

Is this not a booby trap set to jeopardize our future? Have we not allowed ourselves to be caught in it too easily, thereby unwittingly playing into the hands of those elements in Germany which strive to justify their nationalism with an attempt to reinforce and permanently crystallize the German-Polish antagonism? (Incidentally, we come across the same phenomenon in our currently reawakening democratic political life.)

The point of this booby trap is that, as we reactivate the debate on the Polish-German border—a border which, after all, is truly inviolable—we start from handicapped positions which do not offer a good opportunity to set a new tone in our future relations with the united Germany—as it will be in the future. And these relations will largely determine the shape of our Polish future and our chances of catching up with Western civilization.

It is both right and necessary for us to appeal to our friends in France, Britain, and the United States to support our stand on the issue of settling the Polish-German border by means of a treaty—and we have received their valued support—but, after all, it is not they who will exert decisive influence on our future, just as they never exerted it in the past (well, perhaps in Yalta...).

Since the early 18th century, the fate of Poland has invariably been decided between Germany and Russia. And there is nothing to indicate that this might change. Our future depends primarily on our relations with these two neighbors.

The truth is that we shall not catch up with West Europe in our pursuit of advanced civilization without getting Germany to involve itself directly on our behalf. This is a new development in Polish history. The way to the West passes through Germany and with the Germans. We cannot make a detour there. We must really establish a new quality in our relations with them. Instead, we have found ourselves stuck in the same old rut again, with all its recurrent themes of spilt blood, injustices, and antagonisms.

Unless we train our society to transform the unfortunate doctrine of two enemies into a new doctrine of two mutually dependent friends—and we would have to do this very fast—we cannot hope to build a Poland fit to accommodate our dreams and our aspirations.

This article was already on the editors' desk when the news was announced that Chancellor Kohl had put two conditions to us. I am now asking myself: Is this a tactic designed to save face in the eyes of the nationalist right, or is it a method of activating a lever whereby that very right will be able to retain its influence on the quality of relations with Poland?

How many restrictions have been placed on people of good will on both sides of the divide and how their freedom to act has been curtailed! Kohl is forcing us back into the past!

Official Senate Delegation Returns From USSR

LD2503212290 Warsaw PAP in English
2017 GMT 25 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw, March 25—"The first official visit by representatives of the Polish Senate to the USSR led to establishing cooperation with both houses of the Soviet parliament," Senate Speaker Andrzej Stelmachowski told PAP after the return home March 24 of the Senate delegation that had paid a visit to Moscow at the invitation from both Soviets of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

"During a meeting with Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR Aleksandr Lukyanov [name as received], we discussed the necessity for closer and more coordinated cooperation of parliaments. We agreed that this cooperation should to a greater extent take the form of direct joint work of parliamentary committees and closer contacts between parliamentarians themselves," Stelmachowski said.

"We agreed as for the question of unification of Germany and its implications for the entire situation in Europe. We discussed also the necessity for liberalizing and facilitating border traffic between the USSR and Poland," Stelmachowski said.

In the course of their visit to the Soviet Union, the senators visited Katyn, Smolensk, Minsk and Grodno.

Geremek Heads OKP Delegation to USSR

LD2703124890 Warsaw PAP in English
1025 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw, March 27—Bronislaw Geremek, head of a delegation of the Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group, OKP, who left for Lithuania yesterday, told GAZETA WYBORCZA he expected to continue discussions started last December with Sajudis members on how the Soviet nations, USSR's neighbours and the entire Europe can use chances brought about by Gorbachev's perestroika.

Asked whether the visit was a sign of support for Lithuania or the delegation was going to enter any mediation, Geremek stated they were envoys of a historical experience to the effect that a political dialogue can settle even the most difficult problems.

"We do not intend to play the role of mediators. Moreover, besides, we are of the opinion that there is no such need. We are sure that the democratic Lithuania will find a common language of dialogue with the Soviet leadership," Geremek was quoted by GAZETA WYBORCZA as saying.

Walesa Asks Gorbachev Not To 'Contradict' Policy

LD2703165690 Warsaw PAP in English
1352 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Text] Gdansk, March 27—Lech Walesa's press office conveyed to PAP the Solidarity chairman's letter to Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. The letter reads:

Esteemed Mr President,

The initiation in the Soviet Union of the policy of openness and restructuring, resignation from the political monopoly of the CPSU, restoration to the nations of the republics of rights which they have long been denied—all are unquestionable accomplishments attained owing to your bold policy.

What aroused my gravest concern, though, are Soviet steps in Lithuania which flagrantly contradict the policy you have pursued for years.

To violate Lithuania's sovereignty is a step aimed against the process of construction of a new democratic order in Europe. The history of the USSR and Eastern Europe is proof that force and threat used with a view to solving political problems are compromised measures which the international opinion condemned on numerous occassions.

I am turning to you, Mr President, to give up the practice of military pressure and to start a political dialogue with the Government of Lithuania.

Commentary Discusses Dilemma Over Germany

PM2703103990 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish
17 Mar 90 p 5

[Adam Krzeminski commentary: "The Anthem Is Not Enough"]

[Text] Efforts made by Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government to secure Poland's presence at the conference establishing the rules of German unification and to ensure definitive recognition of our western border by our future powerful neighbor have eclipsed all serious press discussion of the German problem that is buried deep within us, in our collective national memory, our complexes, our phobias, and also our envious hopes.

Here is a dilemma: How to reach an agreement with a partner who is incomparably stronger than ourselves, and how to balance the dangers following from our own economic and national weaknesses with the opportunities of cooperation with a highly developed and efficient neighbor.

Also, after many years, we witness a return of the long-forgotten internal question of our immediate proximity to German history and tradition in Silesia, Pomerania, or Mazuria, long years of our living side by side with German mementoes and memories. For years we displayed the slogans: "We were here, we are here, we

will stay here," as if we were trying to gloss over our hidden fears and complexes. We cited the historic borders from the times of the Piast dynasty, but few among us accepted history as it really was. Consequently, now that the borders are beginning to open up, the lack of frank and clear dialogue between Poles and Germans is manifested on our side by apprehension that the "Reich" might return and the course of history reverse, and on the German side by the resentment against our interpreting their nostalgic feelings as revisionism and against our being unable to make a gesture toward the displaced Germans similar to that made by Havel when he apologized to the Sudeten Germans. Both our fears and German resentments stem from the same source: our mutual insecurity. The Germans forget that in 1985, speaking on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the end of World War II, Wojciech Jaruzelski mentioned directly the tragedy of the Germans in the East and that in 1965 Polish bishops delivered the crucial sentence: "We forgive and ask for forgiveness." On the other hand, we forget that the irrational fears of those who are strangers to us stem from complexes of uncertainty and insecurity in a changing world.

We are still awaiting the launching of the great Polish-German dialogue. As the weaker side, we must prepare ourselves for it well in advance: psychologically, emotionally, and legislatively. Instead of fearing that "they will buy us out," we should adopt land legislation that will protect the interests of the Polish state and Polish citizens. This is the practice throughout the world, despite the far-reaching integration. For example, Austria issued a law prohibiting the sale of land in Tyrol to Germans, whereas the Swiss will sell land only on very limited terms and only to those who can prove that they live in Switzerland for at least six months in a year. Other countries introduced a system of renting land instead of selling it, and so on.... These questions should be analyzed by the experts as soon as possible and then discussed by the Sejm, since their relevance is not limited to the territories of Silesia, Pomerania, or Mazuria. Singing patriotic anthems or invoking the memory of Slimak from "The Outpost" [a literary character who became a symbol of resistance against German settlement of Polish territories] will achieve nothing useful because these matters must be sorted out by legislation and not by the say-so of voivodes or parish chiefs.

There are also other questions, of damages, reparations, and ownership rights, which are related to the border issue. These should also be defined unequivocally now so that they should not poison the Polish-German dialogue in the future—as is now happening in East Germany, where a highly emotionally charged debate is taking place on what belongs to whom and who has the right to evict other people from their homes. This is why it is worth watching closely how the Modrow government sorts out the ownership rights questions in the German Democratic Republic and what his successors will do in order to protect their citizens against aggressive reparation claims.

Our Polish efforts to establish new principles of our neighborly relations with the Germans are not only concerned with our symbolic presence in the two-plus-four talks according to the rule of "Nothing without us that concerns us." It is not gestures and symbols that are at stake here but the quality of mutual relations between ourselves and the Germans—and this should be free from ambiguity and equivocation.

Spokesman Expresses 'Hope' for 'Reconciliation'

AU2803081390 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 23 Mar 90 p 8

[Ulrich Schmidla report: "Poland Wants To Stop Being Afraid of Germany"]

[Excerpt] Warsaw—Warsaw is looking forward to President von Weizsaecker's official visit to Poland at the beginning of May with sympathetic feelings and hope. Government spokesman Wozniakowski told DIE WELT: "We receive the president with much benevolence, and we hope that his visit will be an important step on the path of understanding and reconciliation between Germans and Poles." He did not want to compare the trip with the chancellor's trip in November because they are of "different levels." Von Weizsaecker's visit may have a great effect in the intellectual and psychological sphere, Wozniakowski stated.

Details of the program of the five-day trip, which will start on 2 May, are currently being coordinated. For this purpose, Czyrek, minister of state responsible for foreign policy in President Jaruzelski's office, has just had first talks in Bonn. It was learned from Warsaw government circles that a German advance delegation is expected to visit the Polish capital in about two weeks. Obviously, the only thing that is clear so far is that the visit will have two focal points, a stay in Warsaw and one in the Gdansk area.

In Poland it is not ruled out that Jaruzelski and Von Weizsaecker, who originally intended to visit the neighboring country on 1 September 1989, the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II, might meet on the Westerplatte in Gdansk. There, it was intended in the past, a great gesture of reconciliation should take place. In a recent DIE WELT interview, Jaruzelski stated: "I link many hopes with President Von Weizsaecker's visit. Above all, we see the authority he enjoys in Germany and also his benevolent relationship with Poland." [passage omitted]

Deputies File Draft for Reparations Annulment

LD2703202390 Warsaw PAP in English 1844 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw, March 27—Twenty-eight deputies have filed a draft resolution concerning the 1953 renouncement by the government of Boleslaw Bierut of war reparations from Germany.

The deputies demand that the Sejm of the Republic of Poland should annul the Bierut Government's statement of August 23, 1953, published in conditions of limited sovereignty of the Polish nation and state and discordant with the fundamental national interests.

The government has also been obliged to take urgent steps aimed at a final regulation by treaty of war reparations and civilian compensation for victims of World War Two.

Writers' Union Elects Kuncewicz President

LD2103051290 Warsaw PAP in English 2055 GMT 18 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw, March 18—The congress of the Polish Writers' Union ended today with the election of the new main board and Piotr Kuncewicz as its new president.

The delegates to the congress disapproved of the decision on disbanding the union which was taken in 1983 without any consultations with the writers' milieu. They stressed that this decision was harmful to the Polish culture. (The new union, set up with the consent of the then authorities did not gain the support of a considerable part of the milieu).

During the congress an initiative group of the so-called list of 137 decided to form a splinter group. A statement was read on the creation of a new writers' organization having the same property rights and privileges. A part of the delegates and members present in the congress hall joined the organisation.

Citizens Committee Secretary on Elections

AU2603124290 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 19 Mar pp 4, 5

[Interview with Henryk Wujec, secretary of the Solidarity Chairman's Citizens Committee, by Anna Bikont and Krzysztof Sliwinski; place and date not given: "What Will the Alliances Be Like?"]

[Text] [GAZETA WYBORCZA] Do you expect political differences to emerge during the elections?

[Wujec] It is hard to imagine representatives of several parties standing in single-seat electoral districts that have 2,000 voters (in communes with fewer than 40,000 inhabitants). The competition will be between individuals, not programs. The elections will be political insofar as they will undoubtedly be directed against the nomenklatura.

The presentation of programs will be important in electoral districts with more than 40,000, where lists can be submitted by citizens committees and groups of citizens (150 signatures are enough).

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] What kind of alliances will there be? Will a compromise be worked out between the various sides, which is what happened in June, and a joint list of candidates be agreed upon?

[Wujec] There is no need to encourage people to be united. I hope that there will be considerable competition among various groupings. Let the Polish Peasant Party "Rebirth" compete against the citizens committees and the Polish Peasant Party "Solidarity" of the Private Farmers "Solidarity." If there is no strong opposition candidate, against whom there would have to be a united effort, it would be a good thing if citizens committees themselves were to field two or three candidates for one seat.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] In electoral districts that include inhabitants of both towns and the countryside, will Private Farmers "Solidarity" enter into an alliance with "Solidarity," or is it more likely that we will see the formation of large rural coalitions directed against the towns?

[Wujec] There will be competition between town and country in a lot of places, a polarization between farmers and "Solidarity" representing working people.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] Apart from farmers, do you see another interest group putting forward representatives of its own?

[Wujec] I think that the expression of local interests is more likely. A common front may be formed by former Polish United Workers Party members, the Democratic Party, and the Polish Peasant Party "Rebirth," if they find someone who can enter the election as a representative of their interests. For example, in the countryside it could be the local fire chief, someone who is sometimes linked to the nomenklatura but who is popular. Groups defending workers who are threatened with unemployment may emerge out of "Solidarity". A group of entrepreneurs may start to campaign; this is something that the Democratic Party and the new liberals are conscious of.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] In the June elections, having one's photograph taken with Walesa was enough to be entered as a "Solidarity" candidate. Those who used the "Solidarity" symbol, but who were not part of the group, were branded as usurpers.

[Wujec] There is no doubt that many people will enter the election under the "Solidarity" symbol. It will be issued not only by "Solidarity," but also by Private

Farmers "Solidarity," and this is something that may already result in there being different candidates. That aside, the word may often be used only descriptively.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] Will higher-level citizens committees express opinions on candidates put forward by lower-level citizens committees? Will they be able to veto candidates?

[Wujec] There will be no vetting at the Lech Walesa "Solidarity" Citizens Committee level. Voivodship committees may seek to exercise some control, but they have no power vis-a-vis township level committees.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] During the June elections, "Solidarity" gained in credibility by enjoying the support of the church, which was assisting the difficult transition process to democracy. Do you think that the church will be equally active in these elections?

[Wujec] Some parties will no doubt seek to exploit the authority of the church. In these elections, it would perhaps be better if the faithful themselves were to hear about the need to take part in the elections, the need for Catholics to be active in public, and about the principles of local government than to have priests tell them whom they should vote for from the pulpit. However, the parish is the basic structure in the countryside and people feel more attached to it than to the township. The parish community, pastoral communities, will greatly influence the selection of candidates and the outcome of the elections.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] What prospects do ethnic minorities have?

[Wujec] This consideration was behind the coice of the majority option for townships of under 40,000, which will enable a minority concentrated in one area to elect its representatives in single-seat electoral districts.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] This means that the Ukrainian minority, which is the largest in Poland, but geographically the least compact, will not receive sufficient representation in local government. Will the Citizens Committee produce an election program?

[Wujec] There may be an ideological program, but local programs are surely what matter most. The committee will focus on information and assistance in selecting candidates, as there are many good candidates who do not come forward of their own accord. The program, promotional, and technical departments are all at work. As in the previous elections, we want people who have a certain stature to tour the regions and to create mediation groups, because they have a calming effect when feelings run high.

Since the June elections, the committee's secretariat has been keeping in touch with voivodship and local committees with the help of people who perform a permanent liaison function. It is largely to the credit of the secretariat that the movement has survived and preserved its cohesion during the difficult period that followed the decision to dissolve the committees; a decision made by the "Solidarity" national level ruling body. However, every cloud has a silver lining, and the National Executive Committee's decision to weaken regional structures has caused the movement to undergo a revival starting at the grassroots level. Township committees were set up, and they now form voivodship federations.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] How much money has been allocated for the elections?

[Wujec] The situation is very bad. During the previous elections financial assistance came from "Solidarity" and Polish communities living abroad. Now, "Solidarity" itself has problems and foreign Polish communities are involved in various funds. The New York NOWY DZIENNIK and the ZWIAZKOWIEC in Canada are collecting money for our election campaign. Walesa has set up a special citizens foundation for helping the committees, and money will be raised in the regions through sales of commemorative certificates.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] The committees needed 260 candidates for 4 June and today they need 150,000. Are they in a position to find that many?

[Wujec] That is our greatest problem. Some committees have already started to select candidates. They have sent out questionnaires and have been conducting polls. The Club of Catholic Intellectuals has offered to help us. We will also draw on the assistance of Private Farmers "Solidarity," "Solidarity," and regional and economic associations.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] People connected with the former Democratic Party and United Peasants Party nomenklatura are joining citizens committees in some places. The problem of preserving an identity will surely emerge during the elections?

[Wujec] The elections provide an opportunity for affirming our identity as an independent movement that has shown—as a pre-August opposition, as "Solidarity," and during martial law—that doing something that makes sense is what counts. What people will want is to see something done for their neighborhood kindergarten, the health center, not appeals to Pilsudski or Dmowski.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] Will these elections be a repetition of the spectacular "Solidarity" success on 4 June?

[Wujec] They will be a success, but of a different kind. It is not a question of achieving a 100 percent "Solidarity" victory. What emerged in June was something nebulous with a democratic finish. What is to happen now is that local government, with which 99.9 percent of society has contact on a daily basis, is to change completely. The outcome of the local elections will be as important, if not more important, than the outcome of the parliamentary elections.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] So, in your opinion, the elections will be a test of "Solidarity's" political strength, but they will not map out Poland's political landscape.

[Wujec] As soon as the elections are over, the question that will arise will be what should be done next with the citizens movement. That is a very difficult question. Members of citizens committees will find themselves serving on township councils. Some of the committees will in actual fact cease to exist. Those that will want to remain in existence will have to ask themselves what role they should perform. They might begin to think about the next elections. That would mark the beginning of organizing a political movement. Whether they will split at that point is something that I do not know. I am inclined to think that only the "extremist element" will go its own way and that the citizens committee movement will evolve into something resembling a party or citizens movement in support of democracy. If the next parliamentary elections do not take place straight after these elections, there will be time to draw up a program.

[GAZETA WYBORCZA] Did you, who actually headed the committee as its secretary, learn about Zdislaw Najder's appointment to the post of committee chairman from the newspapers, like other committee members?

[Wujec] It came as a surprise to all of us.

I am very concerned about what will happen next. The committee is not made up of officials, but of social activists who devote an enormous amount of time to it and they want to work in a good atmosphere. Surely this issue is all the more important because the committee is a very serious public institution. Well, if the movement supports democratic change....

It is matter of procedure and not of the person himself. I hope that working together with Zdislaw Najder will turn out well following the initial surprise. Following the talks, we decided that Najder would head Lech Walesa's Citizens Committee, and I would continue to work with the secretariat and cooperate with citizens committees nationwide.

Swedish Foreign Trade Minister Ends Visit

LD2203000790 Warsaw PAP in English 1652 GMT 21 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw, March 21—Sweden's foreign trade minister Anita Gradin ended her visit to Poland today.

Summing up Gradin's visit, Polish minister for foreign economic relations Marcin Swiecicki stated that Poland attached big importance to cooperation with the EFTA European Free Trade Association which Sweden currently chairs. "The Polish side therefore expects its strivings to boost trade relations with this organization to be backed (by Sweden)," Swiecicki said.

Poland has already forwarded a draft declaration of cooperation with this organization. Experts are working to put to detail the principles of future contacts.

Embassy Officials Accused of Selling Visas

LD2603125190 Stockholm Domestic Service in Swedish 1030 GMT 26 Mar 90

[Text] [Announcer] We now go to our reporter in Warsaw, Tore Rundgren, to talk about the reports that Polish Embassy officials throughout the world are responsible for the sale of false Swedish visa documents to refugees.

[Rundgren] Polish newspapers say it has just been revealed that staff [employees] of the Polish embassies in Lebanon, Kuwait, and Syria have been selling visas for Poland—transit visas that is—earning hundreds of dollars. They have been promising the buyers of these visas that when they get to Poland, their trip to Sweden will be arranged via Swinoujscie to Ystad. There are accusations that the police, the passport police in Swinoujscie, knew of this activity without doing anything about it.

[Announcer] Is there any official comment?

[Rundgren] No, no comment. This is fresh news—yet several newspapers are reporting it, so it must be correct. Besides, I was at the Polish Foreign Ministry today, to talk to their spokesman, (Wladylsaw Klaczynski), and he was quite bitter toward Sweden, saying: We Poles, we really know what war means, and what it is like to be a refugee. He said that although it is hard for us economically, and so on, we will take care of all these refugees who—he emphasized—rich Sweden is pushing away! He also said that he was surprised, since there had been representatives of the Swedish Government there—that must have been Anita Gradin [foreign trade minister] last week. They had discussed this refugee question, and reached an agreement that somehow it would be solved, but without prior warning, Sweden has started sending the refugees back. He also said that on several occasions Poland has offered Sweden the chance of sending passport police, or placing Swedish passport police in Swinoujscie, to be able to help the Polish authorities to check whether there are false visa documents, but no answer has come from Sweden. That offer still stands.

Czestochowa Voivode Submits Resignation

LD2203202490 Warsaw PAP in English 1755 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] Czestochowa, March 22—During his meeting with journalists here today, Voivode of Czestochowa Grzegorz Lipowski said that he had asked the prime minister to accept his resignation from the post of the voivode.

New Party Initiative Group Meets in Katowice

LD2203210290 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] An initiative group met in Katowice to found a party called the Union of Communists of the Polish Republic-Proletariat. The first issue of an information bulletin, DAWN [PRZEDSWIT], has been published. The text of a 21-point declaration has been published, and a draft party statute is being created. Dr. Jan Zielinski is authorized to represent the initiative group of the Union of Communists of the Polish Republic-Proletariat in Katowice voivodship.

Deputies Decide PKLD To Remain One Caucus

LD2503040290 Warsaw PAP in English 2307 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw, March 23—Deputies from the parliamentary floor group of the Democratic Left (PKLD), including both the independent ones who have formed their own circle and those who are members of the Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland (SDRP) have decided to remain as one caucus despite resignation of the PKLD caucus leader Marian Orzechowski and the pullout of members of the Union of Social Democracy (USDRP) from the group earlier today.

Wlodzinierz Cimoszewicz was elected the group's new leader and Ireneusz Sekula and Janusz Szymanski his deputies.

While resigning from his function Orzechowski declared he could not remain in the same group together with members of the SDRP. Another deputy, Stefan Gebicki resigned from his membership in the PKLD caucus.

Ziolkowska Heads USDRP Caucus

LD2503035490 Warsaw PAP in English 2212 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw, March 23—Wieslawa Ziolkowska was elected chairwoman of the newly formed parliamentary caucus of the Union of Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland (USDRP).

Andrzej Bratkowski was elected its deputy-chairman.

Army Educational Head Discusses Katyn

LD2303230590 Warsaw PAP in English 1950 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw, march 23—"Katyn is a dark chart of history that has been concealed for too long but, fortunately, is now being disclosed to society," head of the main educational board of the Polish Army Vice-Admiral Piotr Kolodziejczyk told a press conference here today.

Asked about the Army's attitude towards that issue, the vice-admiral said: "We think that the murder was committed on our older colleagues with whom we feel strongly linked. This is confirmed by the formation in the Army of a committee which has already collected over 30 million zloties for a monument to the Polish officers. The Army will also participate in the observances of the 50th anniversary of the Katyn crime," the vice-admiral said.

Answering questions concerning the changes in the Polish Army, Kolodziejczyk said that the general goal was to drive politics and ideology out of the Army which entailed the change in the personnel policy.

"It is assumed that in the nearest time the corps of political officers will be reduced by 35-40 per cent, while the structure of the main educational board will assume a rank of department," Kolodziejczyk said.

Referring to banned activity of trade unions in thue Army, Vice-Admiral Kolodziejczyk remarked that it did not mean the elimination of intitiatives serving the promotion of interests and issues of career officers. However, these initiatives must not breach discipline and combat readiness of the Army.

Asked about the Army's attitude towards the Soviet troops stationing in Poland, the vice-admiral stated:

"This is not the matter of the military but an issue of political concept and defence doctrine. As to my opinion, the withdrawal of the Soviet Army at the current time would serve nothing—neither Poland nor any other country. This process has to depend on the changes taking place in Europe and the world," the vice-admiral concluded.

General Elections Not Expected Before 1991

AU2403231790 Paris AFP in English 1237 GMT 24 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw, March 24 (AFP)—Poland's first free general elections in over 40 years will not be held "before the first half" of 1991, a Solidarity official said Saturday. "We were the first to launch political reforms in east Europe but we will be the last to hold truely democratic elections," Bronislaw Geremek, a close advisor to Solidarity trade union leader Lech Walesa, said in an interview with the Tygodnik Gdanski weekly. Mr. Geremek is the Solidarity movement's parliament whip.

He said that general elections should be held as soon as Solidarity and the communists were running out of steam in implementing economic reforms and democratic changes. "This should not happen before the first half of the next year," he said.

The power balance between the two groups was determined in roundtable talks early last year followed by limited elections in June. General elections are not due until 1993. Mr. Walesa recently estimated that the

election date should not be set hastily as Poles had so far failed to organize politically.

Army News Conference Discusses Religion, Katyn

AU2803140190 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 26 Mar 90 pp 1, 3

['J.M.'-signed report: "Straight Facts About the Army"]

[Text] Statements to the effect that the Army "is hiding something" and is shut off from an inquisitive society are not true. The practice of everyday life proves that this is so. This was brought home to Polish and foreign journalists who attended a news conference by Vice Admiral Piotr Kolodziejczyk, chief of the Polish Army Main Educational Administration and Sejm deputy, at the Warsaw military garrison's social club on 23 March. The interest of the media in the Army was also satisfied by General of Brigade Boleslaw Balcerowicz, commander of the 12th Mechanized Division; the Reverend Colonel Florian Klewiado, chief padre of the Polish Army; Air Force Colonel Zenon Kulaga, deputy commander of the Second Air Division and Sejm deputy; and Captain Mariusz Jedrzejko, deputy commander of the First Mechanized Infantry Regiment.

Delivering an introduction, Vice Admiral Kolodziejczyk pointed out that the changes occurring in the Polish Army are possible thanks to the encouraging international situation and the political changes in our country. These changes have affected Army education more deeply and broadly than any other military sphere. The position of the military educational apparatus within the organizational structure of the Armed Forces has altered radically, and so the status of this apparatus in cadres policy has also changed.

"Nevertheless, cadre changes are a certain process," said the admiral in reply to a question from a KURIER POLSKI reporter. "This process has already been started, and is still going on. I myself am a certain illustration of these changes. I have only held this post for two months, and already we have done a lot of work on new structures in the Army educational service."

Replying to further questions, Vice Admiral Kolodziejczyk explained that the old Army political apparatus was, in a certain sense, a closed circle which only people with a specialized professional education could join. Today things are different. Anyone keen to perform the difficult work of the new educational service can join it, whatever their military specialization may be. The "Directive on Educational Activity in the Polish Army," issued by the minister of national defense on 20 March, serves as the basis for cadre activities.

"Before, the emphasis in educational work was placed on interpreting and commenting on government policies, and the government was, of course, a party government. Now, our efforts will be concentrated on the same topics that other armies of the world concentrate on, in other words a patriotic upbringing in a military tradition. We consider our educational mission in the Army to be one of the components of the process of civic education," Vice Admiral Kolodziejczyk told Bulgarian Television.

Replying to a question from a Radio France Internationale [RFI] reporter on religious life in the Army, the Reverend Colonel Florian Klewiado stressed that this life is now based on new principles that stem from guidelines issued by the president of the Republic of Poland on 1 March. These guidelines considerably expand spiritual activity in our Armed Forces.

Colonel Klewiado further indicated features of this spiritual work which were quite out of the question before. For example, where there are no churches it is now possible to celebrate Holy Mass inside barracks. What is more, military cadets may attend religious instruction.

The chief padre of the Polish Army said that these guidelines are so far-reaching that there are not enough padres in the Army to implement them.

In reply to a question from an RFI reporter on the Army's participation in commemorating the anniversary of Katyn, Vice Admiral Kolodziejczyk said: "We are soldiers, we are officers of the Polish Army. We believe that a bloody murder of our senior colleagues, of those who fought for Polish statehood in 1939, was carried out. We feel we are the heirs of these men and are morally obliged to tackle this issue."

Further on, the vice admiral recalled that the Army had been the first Polish organization to establish a Katyn committee, which has been collecting funds for some time already. These funds will be given to a national Katyn committee as soon as such a committee comes into existence. "In April, which is National Remembrance Month, there will be many events to commemorate Katyn. The Polish Army will take active part in them," said Vice Admiral Klewiado.

Later during the conference, there were many questions relating to the humanization of military service and the progressing democratization of interpersonal relationships in culture and education. They were answered by Colonel Zenon Kulaga and Captain Mariusz Jedrzejko.

Replying to a question from SZTANDAR MLODYCH, Vice Admiral Kolodziejczyk said that an education officer should be regarded as a senior, more experienced colleague. All Army reductions are painful, and they have hit the educational cadres the hardest.

"I wish to stress," said the chief of the Polish Army Main Educational Service, "that it is wrong to accuse the former political apparatus of things for which it was not responsible. Because, and I say this as a former commander, it is not the political apparatus that shaped cadre policy. All it did was to carry out certain orders, very often in good faith, just like a considerable part of our society did."

Celac Interview on Cooperation With USSR

AU2203115390 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 13 Mar 90 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Foreign Minister Sergiu Celac by Romulus Caplescu; place and date not given: "Large-Scale Actions Underway in Cooperation With the USSR"]

[Text] [Caplescu] How would you describe your recent visit to Moscow? Planned, sudden, or a normal event under the new framework created for Romanian-Soviet relations?

[Celac] I would view it as a serious, constructive, and well-prepared visit.

As for the second part of the question, I think there could be a misunderstanding of the normal diplomatic procedures. This kind of visit can never take place on a sudden impulse. In any case, I do not think that it was surprising for any side and it certainly is part and parcel of the new Romanian-Soviet relations, especially because it was a working visit focusing on tangible targets with tangible results the effects of which will be noted in the not too distant future.

[Caplescu] Not long ago Eduard Shevardnadze said that it was in the interest of the Soviet Union to have free and democratic neighboring states and not a cordon sanitaire of doubtful and unstable regimes—supported by their own or foreign bayonets. How was this position reflected in the talks you conducted?

[Celac] It was reflected in a very important addition made by Minister Shevardnadze in the sense that the positive relations with the Soviet Union also imply positive relations of cooperation with the West European countries as part of a general trend toward a new constructive, creative, and beneficent solidarity throughout our continent.

[Caplescu] Priority was certainly given to political aspects. Economic questions were undoubtedly also discussed. There are rumors that the USSR intends to reduce or stop deliveries of certain raw materials that are very important for Romania's economy. Is there any ground for such speculations?

[Celac] As a matter of fact, the discussions were virtually political discussions. However, today the area of politics also includes economic affairs—not in the sense of political economy, but in the sense of economic politics. Therefore, we conducted certain discussions about this subject as well, but not a great deal, because things are proceeding positively.

After my one-day visit to Moscow I have no reason to believe that the Soviet side intends to reduce the volume of deliveries agreed upon, although it is encountering—and this was made clear to us—certain difficulties of its own.

An interdepartment commission has been set up within the government steered by a vice prime minister to effectively coordinate economic relations with Romania. Not just mutual goods deliveries and trade exchanges in the traditional sense are at stake.

Large-scale actions are under way to operate the available production capacities in the Romanian industry with raw materials and energy from the USSR. Let us not forget that this means, in the final analysis, the preservation of certain jobs which would otherwise have been lost owing to the necessary restructuring of the given enterprises.

[Caplescu] One last question: At the beginning of January it was announced that Mr. Ion Iliescu was going to visit the USSR. When will this transpire?

[Celac] There was an invitation. It was handed over by Minister Shevardnadze during his visit to Bucharest. It was agreed that the date of this visit would be set later, probably after the May elections and in accordance with the election returns.

Celac Meets Nujoma, Baker, Mubarak in Namibia

AU2203115990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0925 GMT 22 Mar 90

["Diplomatic Diary—Celac at Windhoek"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 22/3/1990—The foreign affairs minister, Sergiu Celac, Romania's representative at Namibia's independence festivities in Windhoek, was received on 21 March by Sam Nujoma, president of the Republic of Namibia, who was delivered a message from the president of Romania's Provisional National Unity Council, Ion Iliescu.

Specific measures were agreed upon during their talk for the mutually advantageous growth of the Romanian-Namibian relations. A written message from Romania's Prime Minister Petre Roman to the prime minister of Namibia, Hage Geingob, was also handed over.

Romania's foreign affairs minister met in Windsoek with Janez Drnovsek, president of the Presidium of the SFR Yugoslavia. The talk covered the Romanian-Yugoslav relationship as well as aspects of the international life, with special reference to the present situation in Europe.

The Romanian foreign affairs minister also met with the U.S. secretary of state, James Baker. The U.S. secretary of state appreciated the measures that were or are being taken in Romania, with assistance from all political factors, to ensure free and fair elections in Romania. Views were exchanged in depth on the prospects for a growing bilateral relationship as well as on certain international questions of mutual interest, especially the processes under way in europe.

The same day, the Romanian minister of foreign affairs was received by the President of Egypt, Husni Mubarak. They stressed their willingness to further expand the traditional friendly relations between the two peoples, and discussed the potential for a further development of cooperation in areas of mutual interest.

Sergiu Celac also had separate meetings with the foreign ministers of the Federal Republic of Germany, USSR, and Italy and with the French minister of cooperation and development.

The same day the Romanian foreign minister had a talk with the UN secretary-general, Javier Perez de Cuellar who was handed over a letter from Prime Minister Petre Roman.

Holds Talks With Mubarak

AU2803070590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1921 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 27/3/1990—Sergiu Celac: Attending cocktail parties is not the only thing foreign ministers do, they also have to work to launch political impulses, to open new ways of cooperation.

This is how the Romanian foreign affairs minister commented on the diplomatic contacts he had while attending the festivities in Windhoek in an interview he granted to ROMPRES news agency.

He mentioned in that context the "substantive" talks he had with the president of Egypt Husni Mubarak, and the president of neighbour and friendly Yugoslavia Janez Drnovsek.

"I had a substantive talk with the UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar on the participation of United Nations observers in the first free elections in Romania's recent history as well as on questions concerning Romania's activity at and contribution to the United Nations Organizations, including questions related to the information of the foreign affairs minister of the Hungarian Republic about the recent events in our country. I had the opportunity to clearly set forth the Romanian Government stand and I think that presentation was received with understanding and goodwill."

In connection with the separate interviews he had with the representatives of all the Security Council permanent members, including the vice-premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, the U.S. secretary of state and the Soviet foreign minister, Mr Celac said that relations had been established which allow us to approach issues which in the past would have been considered too risky to be discussed. He specified that during both the substantive and productive talks with he U.S. secretary of state and with the Soviet foreign minister prospects were outlined of taking economic and other links on to a higher stage.

Celac on Current Political Issues

AU2703204390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1904 GMT 27 Mar 90

["Official News: Sergiu Celac: "I Wish We Were Recognized for What We Know We Are"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 27/3/1990—In an interview with the news agency "ROMPRES," Romania's Foreign Minister Sergiu Celac referred to the following issues:

Romania's image in the world:

I think the way in which numerous journalists, foreign policy commentators and even politicians and parliamentarians regard Romania is an outcome of suspicion and distrust syndrome which we can actually see at work in this country, too, every day. The sudden passage from a regime of personal dictatorship, from the structures of a police-like totalitarianism, perfected by the Ceausescu clan to new, European and civilized democratic structures is painful in this country and the same painful metamorphosis occurs also in the minds of those who are watching us. And I could say even more, namely that along the years the countries that had had to deal with a dictatorship like the one in Romania naturally created a body of experts able to understand the mechanisms and the intimate network of dictatorship so that relations as normal as possible could be built with that type of tyranny. I suspect they are still nostalgic about the simplist ways of making business with a dictatorship—which is the simplest thing in the world. Democracy is a little more complicated. Probably they, too, must adapt to the dynamism of the political and social processes under way in this country. The fact that quite a number of people in the rest of the world fail to deeply understand what happened in Romania and where this country is heading for is something that we regard with neither mistrust, nor suspicion, nor nervousness. Time will solve everything. Naturally, we may get impatient at times, we wish we were recognized sooner for what we are, for what we know we are, but I think it is only reasonable to give credit to and to have confidence in the people on all meridians so that they may reach realistic conclusions judging by our deeds rather than by preconceived ideas and see that what goes on in Romania is not factual, is no conspiration, but an irreversible reality.

Romania's return to Europe:

Dynamic, renewing processes are under way in Europe and in the world, where new realities and new contradictions emerge. Politically, the talks (with his French counterpart) will center on palpable actions, taken against the background of these dynamic changes, to help Romania make a forceful return to Europe, reestablish traditional links and contacts, which were neglected in the past, integrally adhere to European institution that promote superior democratic virtues and values. We have already announced our wish to adhere to the

Council of Europe, observing procedure rules, but we also consider that, in our case, there is the possibility to more rapidly cover all the necessary stages. Furthermore, Romania's contribution to other Western economic institutions will activize—for instance, in the form of cooperation with European Economic Communities and other institutions to open further, more tangible and mutual advantageous prospects to Romania's links with the member countries.

In the case of the Council of Europe, we wanted to cover the necessary stage—that is, having all parties' consensus on that matter—before the presentation of our letter to the president and the secretary-general of that organization, in an attempt at proving that our adhesion was not only formal. Therefore, we sent the letter only when that consensus had been reached and there was no time for invitations.

The forthcoming session of the Romanian-French Intergovernmental Commission (scheduled for March 29):

The joint commission meets to the finishing touches to a number of palpable understandings and to start immediate and long-term actions of economic, technical and scientific cooperation in the area of instruction, too. This time, the commission session opens in new conditions, on a fertile ground, built in particular by Prime Minister Petre Roman's visit to France. There is good will on both sides, there are major interests on both sides and we hope this time the session will yield productive results. France helped us a lot in the weeks and months after the revolution. We enter a new stage, a stage of mutually advantageous cooperation in areas of great interest to our national economy such as telecommunications, machine building, the aircraft industry, chemistry, the steel industry. Moreover, we will naturally talk politics as the co-chairmen of the commission are the foreign ministers of the two countries.

Namibia's independence:

The emergence of any independent state is an event. The process of decolonization led to a triple rise in the number of members of the United Nations Organization in a few decades. This time, however, this historic event acquires special potentialities owing to the fact that with Namibia's independence the process of abolishing the colonial system ends.

Romanian-Namibian relations:

I had the happy opportunity to have a substantial talk with president San Nujoma about palpable aspects related to future cooperation between Romania and Namibia. Namibia is a rich country, a country boasting a great potential for further development and the complementarity of the our economies offer real possibilities for an equal, mutually advantageous cooperation.

Namibia is interested in purchasing Romanian manufactures and in using the technical experience of Romanian experts and in exchange it offers products, raw materials, finished products of major interest to our national economy.

Romania's relations with South Africa:

Our attitude in international relations is finally freed from inhibitions and preconceived ideas. Which allows us to more freely, more creatively and more constructively look at the fundamental landmarks of our foreign policy. It is not a figure of speech when I say that Romania intends to achieve an openness to all horizons it reflects a reality in Romania's new foreign policy. Indeed, it was the first contact with South Africa (reference to a recent meeting with Peter Botha). Rapid positive changes occur in this country, too. A confirmation in this respect is Namibia's independence. There are mutual interests, there is understanding of the political limitations in the relations with this very important state of Africa. Minister Botha and I agreed on palpable ways of advancing towards a normalization of relations, according to and in line with the necessary political changes wrought in this part of Africa. And, naturally, with the observance of UN pertinent resolutions.

Establishment of diplomatic relations with South Korea:

By mutual agreement, we decided to skip several stages which neighbouring and friendly countries have already covered and directly pass on to the establishment of diplomatic relations, reaching an understanding on ways to achieve mutually advantageous economic technical and scientific cooperation, too. South Korea is an economic "dragon" in the Pacific area, a country whose growth rates have been impressive and which, in two decades alone, managed to increase its per capita national income several scores of times. [sentence as received] A country boasting technological and scientific potential in key areas which this our country needs. Owing to the complementary character of our economies, there is fertile ground for the development of mutual exchanges on a high level very soon. Which is one proof of the fact that we regard our external relations in consideration of the country's interests, without inhibitions and limitations, in a pragmatic, realistic and constructive spirit, if you wish.

'Hope for Reconciliation' in Tirgu Mures

LD2403110490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] [Announcer] Now you can hear a report from Tirgu Mures [Marosvasarhely]. Peter Szorenyi arrived from Tirgu Mures not long ago. What are your impressions? Is there a realistic chance for reconciliation, or do we have to fear another wave of refugees, meaning that Magyars do not feel secure in Transylvania?

[Szorenyi] Magyars are making standardized parcels [egysegcsomag] for themselves at home. I spent four days in a flat in Tirgu Mures, where the hosts had already put together a little standardized parcel by this morning.

However, there is hope for reconciliation, as far as the political scene is concerned, because the Romanian Government commission is having talks there at the moment, which probably will manage to force reconciliation between the Romanians and the Magyars. The atmosphere on the street, however, is bubbling and rioting, since small groups of Romanians were walking along the streets trying to catch people even yesterday. They stop people and ask for their identity cards, and beat up the ones who are Magyars.

[Announcer] How much do Magyars fear the Romanians in general, and do they differentiate between the ones they live with in Tirgu Mures and those who were brought to the town during the bloody events?

[Szorenyi] At first they tried to distinguish them, but as Romanians have been demonstrating in the square in front of the town hall outside the military cordon for days, they do not really trust the Romanians of Tirgu Mures either. Magyars are afraid.

[Announcer] Are the Romanians who were transported to Tirgu Mures on trucks and buses still in the town?

[Szorenyi] According to certain reports, they are still there and for the night they have sheltered in the hospital, which is directed by one of the leaders of Vatra Romaneasca, a Mr. (Oprish), but the interesting thing about these people is that when they were brought into the town they were made drunk; according to some sources each was given 5,000 leis for all this, and what is more, one of them said after being captured that he simply had been lounging about at the main square, when he had been loaded onto a truck and brought to Tirgu Mures and he, together with the others, had been instructed to find a certain Suto, a certain Kincses and a certain Bolyai and beat them up. They searched for a man, who, as we all know, died 200 years ago.

Tirgu Mures TV To Broadcast in Hungarian

LD2503115490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0800 GMT 25 Mar 90

[Text] In Tirgu Mures, from now on, local television will broadcast programs in Romanian, Hungarian, and German. A decision on this was made at the session of the government commission investigating events in the town. The body also set up a press committee and a committee dealing with the observations of the inhabitants. Both have Magyar and Romanian members. They wish to put the question of mother-tongue teaching before the parliament. They called on workers in County Mures not to strike until 9 April, and not to go out on the streets.

The Democratic Association of Magyars in Romania and Vatra Romaneasca have both called on their members to show restraint and patience, emphasizing that they should refrain from extremes and condemn violence.

Vatra Romaneasca Communique on Tirgu Mures

AU2703080790 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1900 GMT 26 Mar 90

[Communique issued by the Steering Committee of Vatra Romaneasca in Tirgu Mures on 26 March and delivered to ROMPRES news agency]

[Text] On behalf of the Joint Conciliation Commission, which began operating in Tirgu Mures on 22 March 1990 and which adopted—under point 2 of the communique—the need to correctly and impartially inform the public in accordance with facts, the Romanian side in this commission makes the following statement:

During a Romanian Free Television broadcast today, 26 March, in Hungarian, an essential omission was made when the incidents at Pharmacy No. 28 in Tirgu Mures were reported. It was not mentioned that Samuel Nagy, a citizen now under arrest, intentionally drove a Trabant automobile into the Romanians who were demonstrating peacefully. Among the 14 people injured, some seriously, was a 15-year-old boy.

The injured were registered in the medical documents of the County Medical Clinic. Although there were other oversights in this broadcast, we believe that this is the most serious one, because it was actually the spark that triggered the undesired events of 20 March 1990.

Transylvania Actions 'Enhancing Mutual Confidence'

AU2703152490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1318 GMT 27 Mar 90

["Transylvania: Steps Toward Enhancing Mutual Confidence"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 27/3/1990—The actions taken these last few days in Tirgu Mures City, after last week's tragical events pursue the stabilization of the situation and the return of life to normal, notes daily ADEVARUL of March 27, remarking that "steps have been taken toward enhancing mutual confidence." The daily quotes in this respect the election of the new Executive Bureau of the Provisional National Unity County Council in which a novel modality was used meaning that the Romanians proposed the Hungarian candidates and the Hungarians the Romanian ones. This method, the daily shows has an obvious political value and is the first step toward enhancing mutual confidence. The next steps are the meetings between representatives of Romanians and Hungarians, between those of the Vatra Romaneasca Union and the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania that, although thorny, "mark progress" and promise "viable results."

ADEVARUL also welcomes the fact that the economic activity finds its normal rhythm in most of the industrial enterprises, just like transport and public services, and the schools.

Protest at Covasna:

At the close of a meeting participated in by the members of the Executive Bureaus of the Provisional Councils of National Unity of Covasna County, the mayors, the directors of enterprises and institutions, representatives of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania and the Hungarian Youth Democratic Union of Romania, as well as of the county organization of the Ecological Movement, 300 people as a whole, a protest was endorsed, addressed to Ion Iliescu, president of the Provisional National Unity Council. In behalf of the Covasna County residents the firm stand is expressed regarding the situation created because of the deplorable facts in Tirgu Mures and the disapproval of the fact that the Free Romanian Television and some press organs continue the campaign of quite groundless accusations and defamation against the Hungarian nationality population. The above-mentioned demarche shows: We consider Romania's territory inviolable, its unity being just as dear to the Hungarian population in the county as it is to the whole Romanian people. No act of expulsion of the Romanians, of bodily injury or offence, of hurting their national dignity occurred in Covasna County. Our wish is to live in peace and good understanding, mutual regard, promotion of feelings of brotherhood that should serve our mutual interests.

We consider that the extremist stands, sustained by retrograde circles, that give pride of place to their political interests and the interest of getting the power, are contrary to our aspirations, they undermine the gains of the revolution and contribute to destabilizing the country. We protest against all the attempts to stir hatred between the Romanian people and the national minorities, against the ideas disseminated by mass media that present the situation in a distorted manner to the end of creating discord.

We think the rights the ethnical minorities in Romania request do in no way harm the Romanian people's interests. On the contrary, they contribute to fuelling the feelings of brotherhood, to consolidating the unity of action in the process of democratization of the Romanian society, to deepening the feelings of attachment of the national minorities, of the Hungarian ethnical minority respectively, for the common homeland.

We are sure that reason, common sense and the democratic ideas that have guided us will triumph.

Adhesion to the Timisoara Proclamation:

The World Union of Free Romanians and the Romania branch unreservedly adhere to the Timisoara Proclamation (of March 11, 1990), mentions the union's president in a declaration released in daily ROMANIA LIBERA. He considers that the proclamation comprises the clear statement of the ideals that inspired not only the December revolution but also the Romanians' opposition to communism for 45 years. The proclamation becomes even more topical after the deplorable ethnical incidents in Transylvania these last few days, Ion Ratiu concludes.

Assessment by Romanian minister of defence:

In an interview granted with daily TINERETUL LIBER, Colonel General Victor Stanculescu, minister of national defence, requested to assess the situation in Tirgu Mures, states inter alia: "I am fully confident in the efforts and declarations made by the local representatives of Romanians and Hungarians, who are the most entitled to induce the calming down of the situation and removal of the divergences. The problems can and must be settled patiently, with the arguments of the people who are job and school mates, neighbours, friends actually, who achieved the revolution together. And the call of the appeal for the Army was not and is not fit to settle the respective questions, be it only because the Army does not have the mission to interfere in internal affairs. It is first of all the people, supporting the forces of the Ministry of the interior, that are in duty bound to directly contribute to the remaking of quiet and order.

Forces 'Hostile to Democracy' Blamed for Unrest

AU2703171190 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 21 Mar 90 p 1

[Editorial: "Whose Fist Hits Both Romanians and Hungarians?"]

[Text] From Tirgu Mures we receive news which can be qualified as worrisome, to say the least. In recent days, we did our best to objectively present various positions in connection with the causes that have led to this conflict. We do not know who is behind these serious, very serious, events but it is quite obvious that somebody wants to destabilize our country, which is already in a pretty unstable state, and to give an uppercut blow to Romanian democracy and economy. This can only be to the disadvantage of all citizens, regardless of whether they are Romanians or Hungarians. We repeat, political forces hostile to democracy and freedom in Romania are behind these serious manifestations, forces which probably want, or better said, surely want to stir up trouble for our young democracy through manifestations that bring up memories of events of 45 years ago.

Our editorial board, as well as the editorial boards of other newspapers and agencies, including ROMPRES, receive all kinds of statements, declarations, and telephone calls which disapprove of the current events in Tirgu Mures and other localities. We would like to ask these gentlemen who are now voicing these stands on behalf of their associations and parties: Why did they not state their opinions clearly and firmly before these events took place?

Condition of Injured in Tirgu Mures Reported

AU2703173690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1431 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 27/3/1990—The Mures County Police Inspectorate made known the following to the ROMPRES news agency:

On March 26 there still were in the Tirgu Mures hospital 61 people injured in the March 19-21 period, including 40 Romanians and 21 Hungarian nationals. Five severely wounded Romanians the life of whom was in danger were sent by aircraft to Bucharest and put to specialty clinics. The severely injured Teodor Rusu 30, was sent to Switzerland.

Mures Joint Ethnic Commission Begins 27 Mar

AU2703174290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1433 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 27/3/1990—A new meeting of the Joint commission made up of representatives of the Romanian and Hungarian Population, of the Vatra Romaneasca Union and the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania, Mures County branch, started under the aegis of the Government Commission on March 27 in the morning.

Minister Stanculescu Extends Army Service

AU2703194890 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1900 GMT 27 Mar 90

["Appeal" issued by Defense Minister Colonel General Victor Stanculescu; place and date not given—read by announcer from ROMPRES news agency version]

[Text] Dear soldiers of the Romanian Army, it is known that the Romanian Army, the armed arm of the people, participated together with our youth, workers, and intellectuals, and together with the whole people, irrespective of nationality, in the revolution of December 1990. It acted with determination and all its might to defeat the odious dictatorship and open up the road for deep-going structural changes and for creating conditions for the full affirmation of freedom, dignity, and democracy on Romanian soil.

Our country's Army has been and continues to be a guarantee for consolidating the victory achieved against tyranny and for the development of the entire economic, social, and political activity. The Army has done so because it is a genuine factor for stability and balance in Romanian society.

It is our duty toward our ancient homeland and toward the heroes who fell during the hot days of the revolution, to continue to preserve an atmosphere permitting the normalization of life and all activities in accordance with the requirements of our country's democratization.

Because of the current complicated political, social, and economic situation in Romania, it is more necessary than ever for each soldier to be profoundly aware of his great duty toward the homeland. Taking account of the situation in some localities and areas in the country and of the future of free, independent, and democratic Romania, it is imperative to adopt a number of measures aimed at preserving and strengthening the combat potential of the Army and the defense capacity of our homeland.

In this respect, the recent decree-law of the Provisional National Unity Council provides that the duration of the military service for drafted young people, who are to be discharged in accordance with the decree-law No. 99 of 1990, be prolonged temporarily, but not by more than 60 days, until the situation that has arisen in some localities and areas in the country has normalized.

I request you to do your duty to discourage any provocations. Your parents and brothers, your families, and all citizens of our country will appreciate your devotion and patriotism. They will be able to trustfully say, as they did 3 months ago, that the Army is with us, because the military experience you gained during the revolution is an essential contribution by the Army to ensuring an appropriate combat potential.

I want to fervently call on all soldiers of our Army and on the patriotic feelings inspiring you to understand the correctness and reasons for the measures adopted and to intensify your military and specialized training in order to be ready at any time to contribute to safeguarding the Romanian people's peaceful activity.

Let all of us, beginning with the soldiers and up to the generals, work in such a way that we will deserve the people's whole trust, the appeal by the National Defense Minister Colonel General Victor Stanculescu emphasizes.

'Peaceful' Military Protest

AU2803084690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0642 GMT 28 Mar 90

["Demonstration of the Military"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bcharest, ROMPRES, 28/3/1990—More than two hundred conscripts staged a peaceful protest late last night at about 11 p.m. in Bucharest's Victory Square to the measure of extending the military service by sixty days. The measure— under a recent decree-law issued by PNUC [Provisional National Unity Council]—is only temporary: It will remain in force until the situation returns to normal in all places and zones of the country.

The demonstrators are troops that worked on the Bucharest-Danube Canal site, not trained military, a national defence ministry source said.

Soldiers, Pro-Bessarabians Stage Protests

AU2703183890 Paris AFP in English
1802 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest, March 27 (AFP)—Three to four hundred conscripts, unarmed but in uniform, demonstrated outside government headquarters here Tuesday demanding that the government honor its pledge to shorten military service.

In a separate rally, several dozen students gathered in central Bucharest to commemorate the 1918 reattachment of Bessarabia—now in Soviet Moldavia—to Romania, and stress the "Romanian" character of Soviet Moldavia.

It was the latest show of nationalist sentiment, which has been on the rise in Romania. Tension between nationalist Romanians and ethnic Hungarians in the Romanian Transylvanian region erupted into violence last week, leaving eight dead and hundreds injured.

The soldiers, who said they would not leave until their demands were satisfied, were also protesting what they said was the continuation of "forced labor"—a practice under the old regime.

Many said they were awaiting their discharge, but were notified Tuesday morning that they had to stay in uniform at least another two months. They said this went against the government's promise last January to shorten military service from 16 months to a year.

A delegation was admitted into the government offices to meet with "officials", they said.

A huge military protest was staged on the site in February, which forced out the then defense minister and started reforms under way in the army.

The pro-Bessarabian students, meanwhile, charged that they had been prevented from crossing into neighboring Soviet Moldavia with 10,000 Romanian-language books for students and school children in Kishinev, the Moldavian capital.

In a separate press conference reserved for Romanian journalists, the Soviet ambassador to Romania, Evgeni Tiajelnikov, ruled out any return of the Moldavian republic to Romania, but conceded that a push for greater autonomy was under way there.

"The wheel of history cannot go backwards", he said, citing "those from different circles who have raised the possibility of Moldavia's reattachment to Romania".

Moldavia, formerly part of Romania, was annexed by Moscow in 1940 under a pact between Hitler and Stalin that carved up Eastern Europe. It briefly returned to Romania during World War II, but was again incorporated into the Soviet Union in 1944.

Bessarabia is part of Moldavia and, like the greater Moldavia, was shuffled back and forth at different points.

Moldavians are ethnic Romanians and now make up 65 per cent of the republic's population.

Maps recently printed and displayed by nationalists Tuesday showed what was called "Greater Romania", which included present day Romania plus Moldavia and part of Dobrogea, which is now in northern Bulgaria.

Roman Meets With Minority Representatives

AU2703212890 Bucharest Domestic Service
in Romanian 1900 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Text] As reported, today in Cluj, Romania's prime minister met with Cluj higher education representatives, with representatives of the Vatra Romaneasca Union and of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania, with representatives of the Orthodox and Greek Catholic clergy, and with members of the administration council of Technofrig enterprise.

At the same time, at around noon he stopped in the central square of this city, in the heart of Transylvania, and laid a wreath at the monument of the wolf—the symbol of the Latin origin of the Romanian people—the place where during the December 1989 revolution young Romanians and Hungarians, who had fraternized in the struggle for the victory of the ideals of freedom and democracy, were killed by the bullets of the Ceausescu repression.

Toward evening, Romania's Prime Minister Mr. Petre Roman met with representatives of the Cluj and the central press.

Especially interesting and significant was the meeting of Romania's Prime Minister Mr. Petre Roman with representatives of Vatra Romaneasca and with those of the Hungarian Democratic Union.

This was a genuine colloquium characterized by an exchange of views in connection with recent events in Transylvania. It was a useful and frank meeting which pursued and found, to a large extent, answers which bring the two organizations closer in order to relax the difficult situation created in certain localities in Transylvania. The discussion proceeded amid calm and constructive dialogue.

Answering some questions raised by both the representatives of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania and of Vatra Romaneasca, the prime minister emphasized that the call for reason to solve conflicts should not be unilateral and that when dialogue seems to have exhausted its possibilities one should proceed to negotiations.

The speaker stressed that in any kind of problem, the interests [word indistinct] and now negotiations are under way and tangible problems are being tackled and

thus solutions can be found faster. Transylvania can by no means be the subject of negotiations with any one, it cannot be the subject—as the prime minister put it—of (?mistrust). He also specified that the government is trying to seek a basis of dialogue within the country in connection with problems regarding the proper progress of our social, economic, and political activity in order to consolidate stability in all areas.

In the area of education, Prime Minister Mr. Petre Roman said, the demands of the Hungarian minority marked by a certain haste have made the majority Romanian people sensitive. Forcing the fulfillment of these demands in a unilateral way will generate mistrust and suspicion. The atmosphere created and, unfortunately, also maintained abroad by malevolent extremist circles has (?influenced) Romania's opening to the world.

Thus, sustained diplomatic activity outside the country was necessary to publicize the exact situation in Transylvania, an activity that was crowned by success to a large extent.

Mr. Petre Roman expressed the hope that the dialogue between the two organizations will be constructive and will yield concrete and palpable results to contribute to the creation of a propitious atmosphere for carrying out the election campaign under favorable conditions.

Discusses Education

AU2803085290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0632 GMT 28 Mar 90

["Petre Roman: Ripostes Are Not a Solution"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 28/3/1990—The prime minister of Romania, Mr. Petre Roman, met Tuesday in Cluj-Napoca with managerial teaching staff of higher learning institutes in the local university centre. Major problems were discussed related to the Romanian education. The Cluj educational system in particular, the concept of university autonomy are not basic problems of the Cluj higher learning, because what should be done in the immediately ensuing period is to grow and modernize the quality of education, stated the participants in the debate. Questions were also approached concerning the promotion of the teaching staff in medical education, the rejuvenation of the university teaching staff, and the claims of the Hungarian minority for university tuition in the mother tongue.

Mr. Petre Roman also met members of the "Vatra Romaneasca" union in Cluj. Mr. Justtian Petrescu, dean of the Institute of Biology, Geography and Geology, specified that dialogue was initiated with the Magyar Democratic Union, the Cluj branch, showing that love for the fellowman should replace hatred, and underlining that Transylvania was negotiable with nobody.

Prime Minister Petre Roman said the government was concerned to find bridges of dialogue inside, and solidly substantiated elements outside so as to convince international public opinion we are inspired by the wish to maintain the country's unity on democratic bases. This Romanian ancestral land on which Magyars also settled in time can none in the least be questioned, he said. Reiterating that the government did not reject the ethnic minorities' liberties and rights, Mr. Petre Roman also stated that, in relation to education, the claims caused a sensitization of the Romanian national feelings, forced the attainment of such a desideratum at a time when the Romanian nation was confronted with other problems. Now the government is in duty bound to maintain stability on all planes, the single possible alternative to the recent confrontations, and the stimulation to ripostes is not the best solution.

Following the events in Transylvania, the actions taken so far on an international plane for a complete opening of Romania had to suffer, and some actually hostile political circles could question the building of democracy in Romania. Mr. Petre Roman showed this country's real intentions had been explained just as the evolution and the causes of the events, documents were sent to all the international courts, as well as personal letters to all prime ministers in Europe and America not to be unjustly accused. I express my hope, Mr. Petre Roman said, that in the ensuing period the political tensions created by the election campaign will not go beyond the limits admitted in a civilized country and no exacerbations will be shown by nationalist circles.

Tuesday at noon, the prime minister of Romania laid a floral wreath at the monument symbolizing the Romanian people's latinity—the she-wolf with Romulus and Remus—in the Townhall Square of Cluj-Napoca. He also kindled a candle and observed a minute's silence in the memory of the heroes who died in the December 1989 revolution in this city.

In the afternoon, Mr. Petre Roman met with members of the management board of the "Technofrig" enterprise in Cluj-Napoca, a unit specialized in the manufacture of equipment for the food industry.

The prime minister underscored the possibilities created by decentralization with a view to establishing links with foreign firms and to taking over modern technologies through cooperation, possibly by selling their products through these firms.

Premier Petre Roman also met with representatives of the Magyar Democratic Union of Romania, the cluj-Napoca branch, of the Magyar-Romanian Democratic Association and the "Vatra Romaneasca" union, with whom he discussed the recent events in Transylvanian settlements.

In his address, Mr. Petre Roman urged to calm and reason showing that the outstanding problems should not be globalized. He said the government decided to make an inventory of everything achieved in education up to the date, emphasizing that it contradicted no

principle enshrined in the 22 december 1989 proclamation. Education should be unitary and indivisible. The government is receptive to the proposals referring to specific aspects, but Transylvania is not and will never be an object of dispute in any form, Premier Petre Roman specified.

At the Townhall of Cluj-Napoca Mr. Petre Roman also met Tuesday representaves of the Romanian Orthodox Archiepiscopate in Cluj and of the Greco-Catholic Episcopate in Gherla, Cluj County. During the interview an attempt was made to solve the differences between the two religious denominations related to the abusive assignment in 1948 of places of worship of the Greco-Catholic Church to the Orthodox Church by the former regime.

Republican Party's Zamfirescu Leaves PNUC

AU2103163290 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 11 Mar 90 p 3

["Text" of resignation letter issued by Republican Party member Virgil Zamfirescu on 10 March]

[Text] Mr. President, we, the people in this hall, always have paradoxical attitudes, which are out of touch with the reality.

We talk about a market economy, and nothing has been done in this sense. So many formalities are required and there are so many difficulties that not even a private repair shop for pressing irons or other things has been opened yet. We talk about privatization while the responsible people in the economy maintain the "advantages" of collectivism, which brought about our current situation. We talk of reforms, while the economic-financial system is operating in the same structure with double subordination, with overlapping bodies and organizations, and with centralized planning. The system continues to operate with "professional revolutionaries" at the helm, as someone liked to say, many of whom are actually party to our current situation.

We are now presenting an electoral law which reveals that we can elect and maintain the same people who lied to us for years, people who were caught by the revolution in the first echelon of power, in positions of power.

Also paradoxical is the fact that Lenin's statue has been dismantled, while the proposed electoral law pursues bringing back or maintaining the Leninists in power.

Some of our colleagues—representatives here—depicted the situation in some parts of the country in such pink colors that all of a sudden we had the impression that we were attending a meeting of sad remembrances at which neither praises nor applause were missing.

We also talked about the free trade unions, and no one dared take a stand in their defense when it was suggested that they do not respect the laws with which we had been fed up for more than 40 years. Just think, some trade unions took the liberty of taking democracy seriously.

We have political parties but they cannot carry out their activity because they encounter all sorts of difficulties. I have a ROMPRES bulletin of 9 March 1990 here in front of me, from which I am quoting: "The Chinese foreign minister, Qian Qichen, who is on an official visit in Aden, stated in an interview granted to the Yemeni press that his country is pursuing the establishment of a pluralist system. He specified that measures will be taken to establish a system based on pluralism with the participation of democratic parties and emphasized that these parties will work within the framework of a coalition under the leadership of the Communist Party of China."

Is this what we want in our country as well?

If we continue in this way, gentlemen, then we will reach the point of voting for a single party by just lifting our hand, as we did in this meeting, and we will return to the point from which we started.

Mr. President, esteemed colleagues, I want to express thanks for the honor of being able to speak from this rostrum, but I, the undersigned Virgil Zamfirescu, economist, member of the Republican Party, without the word "Christian" added, take the liberty of returning the identity card issued to me and I withdraw from this high forum.

I thank you and wish you success!

Virgil Zamfirescu

10 March 1990

Roman Warns Against 'Patronage From Outside'

LD2203124890 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0938 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest, March 22 (TANJUG)—Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman spoke over telephone last night with his Hungarian counterpart Miklos Nemeth about tragic developments in Transylvania, where six people were killed and about 300 injured in clashes between Romanians and ethnic Hungarians.

Prime Minister Roman expressed surprise at the way the Hungarian Government was viewing the events in Transylvania.

As stated here, he mentioned that "any attempt at patronage from outside" could compromise parties of the Hungarian minority in Romania.

Previously, the Romanian Government accused the Hungarian Government of interfering in Romania's internal affairs, describing Hungarian President Matyas Szuros as an instigator of ethnic conflicts.

Parties' Access to Radio, TV 'Guaranteed'

AU2403213890 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2000 GMT 24 Mar 90

[Text] In an interview tonight, Mr. Razvan Theodorescu, president of the Free Romanian Radio and Television, described the way in which the electoral campaign will be covered by the radio and television.

In accordance with the electoral law, access to radio and television is free, guaranteed, and free of charge for the duration of the electoral campaign. The TV stations will organize programs to explain the electoral law and will start an approximately 100-minute-long "Electoral Forum," with the participation of the political parties and formations, on a daily basis except for Sundays.

Over the two-month-long electoral campaign, the more than 60 parties will have access to television three or four times. Similar programs will also be scheduled by the radio station, including a program of debates between parties during the electoral campaign.

Ecologist Movement Communique on Mazilu, Aims

AU2503164290 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 16 Mar 90 p 3

[Communique issued by the Ecologist Movement of Romania and signed by T. G. Maiorescu; place and date not given]

[Text] Owing to the fact that along with the Ecologist Movement of Romania other "ecologist" political groups have emerged, the confusion as to their attitudes and positions has become irritating.

In connection with the discussions within the Parliament on Mr. Mazilu [former first vice president of the National Salvation Front Council], the Ecologist Movement of Romania has been empowered to state the following: 1. Mr. Mazilu was never invited to be part of our movement; 2. When listing the 23 parties and three counties that supported him, the Ecologist Movement of Romania did not participate; 3. We ask the press, radio, and television bodies to clearly define the Ecologist Movement of Romania vis a vis the other groups calling themselves "ecologist" in order to avoid confusion; 4. In connection with Mr. Mazilu's statement that the Ecologist Movement of Romania had approached him, this is not true. Mr. Mazilu's problem is an internal problem of the former National Salvation Front Council, which does not concern us.

Being above political struggles, street manifestations, and electoral propaganda, the Ecologist Movement of Romania, which is independent, democratic, antitotalitarian, nonviolent, and pacifist, continues mainly scientific activity aimed at combating environmental pollution, drawing up Romania's geoecological map—by specifying all sources of pollution—and at working out remedies and priorities. It also continues its struggle to make the human spirit aware of ecology in accordance with the motto "Clean people in a clean country and clean world."

Iliescu Addresses Bucharest NSF Conference

AU2503200690 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1900 GMT 25 Mar 90

[Text] The founding municipal conference of the National Salvation Front [NSF] took place today in Bucharest. It set up the organization's Coordinating Council and appointed delegates to the NSF nationwide conference, which will take place in the coming 10 days. The meeting was attended by more than 400 delegates and guests, outstanding personalities from the capital's university centers and from among the technical intelligentsia, as well as by leaders of various trade unions and public organizations. On behalf of the Initiative Committee, the meeting was attended by Messrs. Ion Iliescu, Petre Roman, Bogdan Patrascu, Catalin Iorgulescu, and Sorin Butnaru.

During the discussion of the NSF platform program and statute, the speakers emphasized that the NSF stands for an open policy and for an electoral campaign based on (?fair) competition. The speakers called on all political formations and organizations not to turn the first free electoral campaign of postwar Romania into in a fight, in the strict sense of the word.

In the evening, the meeting elected the 21 members of the Leadership Council of Bucharest Municipal NSF Organization and appointed 140 delegations for the NSF nationwide conference.

At the end of the meeting, Mr. Ion Iliescu took the floor on behalf of the Initiative Committee.

After thanking the people for the opportunity to attend the municipal NSF conference, Mr. Ion Iliescu began by pointing out that this day marks the 100-day anniversary of the outbreak of the people's movement in Timisoara. Before the 400 delegates and guests, Mr. Ion Iliescu read the text of the telegram sent to the Timisoara inhabitants. Then the speaker referred to the tragic events in Tirgu Mures and pointed out the measures taken to restore calm and to start a constructive dialogue between the Hungarian and Romanian populations.

Referring to the remarks made by some speakers at the municipal NSF conference in connection with need to develop the NSF spirit of initiative, Mr. Ion Iliescu said that the Bucharest organizations should conduct much more intensive activity to attract the broad masses of citizens, particularly the young people, because the NSF, through its platform, is an organization open to everybody, to free thinking unhampered by dogmas, and to all forces striving for the country's democratization.

At the same time, Mr. Iliescu said that it is necessary to define more clearly the Front's platform and the positions of all its members on key issues of the Romanian society.

Further, the speaker discussed certain topical problems of the Romanian economy, of industrial activity, and particularly of the present and future structures in agriculture. Mr. Ion Iliescu emphasized the need for state assistance to private producers, while also stressing the need to preserve the agricultural units, which currently have an important material base.

In conclusion, Mr. Ion Iliescu appealed to all political formations and parties to ensure that this electoral campaign, the first free campaign in postwar Romania, should see a battle of ideas rather than street fights and an ever more open dialogue for the good of the country.

ADEVARUL on Risks of Return to Dictatorship

AU2603165990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1613 GMT 26 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 26/3/1990—Political democratization cannot avoid any of the risks that Romanian society is now trying to avert—among which a return to dictatorship of any kind and economic stagnation—unless it is coupled with economic democratization, the independent "ADEVARUL" newspaper writes in a commentary entitled "Politics and the Economy."

A public discussion of this subject tries to identify the risks of a transition period where old economic structures and new political and organizational structures coexist as a time when plans are made for economic development through liberalization, a market economy, privatization and competition.

Reminding that in the past the basis for the individual's full subservience to the state, identified with the single Communist Party, was the dictatorship's economic and political monopoly, the newspaper stresses that the bureaucratic economic machinery worked in tandem with the forces of repression, virtually reducing the individual's struggle for the freedom of conscience to the effort for economic survival. It was the economic monopoly exercised by totalitarianism that silenced the mass discontent, and only its abolition in practice will provide a real basis for the individual's restoration to true freedom of political thinking and of expression. Economic reasons were behind the politically "silent majority," says the newspaper. Only when economic democracy puts the industrial and agricultural workers, and the intellectuals in a position to earn their living outside an economically totalitarian system, can they engage in politics and support a party of their own choice. For the time being, there are many parties, but not an economic democracy that can give the individual also economic opportunities, not only political which are well ahead of the former.

Parties Elaborate Election Campaign Positions

AU2603180690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1611 GMT 26 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 26/3/1990—The Agrarian Democratic Party of Romania wants to take an equal part in the nation's effort for the economic, political, social, cultural and moral reconstruction of our country, Mr Dumitru Teaci, chairman of the party's Provisional Steering Council, told a ROMPRES editor. He showed that his party set to bring around its platform agricultural and forest workers, all social forces in the rural or urban area that hold democratic views and take action for a modern economy, for emergence from the economic and spiritual decay bequeathed by the former regime, for the creation of a free and prosperous nation.

The Agrarian Democratic Party of Romania assumes it is its duty to defend the ancestral rights of the Romanian "village hearth," of the farmers, of the other social segments, to assist in the building of a high-yield agriculture that can give its workers a high standard of living. The party strongly condemns the reprobatory actions in Transylvania in which village forces were also involved, said Mr Teaci.

Possible Liberal Party Alliance To Oppose NSF

AU2603183590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1640 GMT 26 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 26/3/1990—The National Liberal Party contacted several parties, including the Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party, and intends to consult with the Social Democratic Party and other groupings to form a possible alliance to oppose the National Salvation Front [NSF], said that party's leader, Mr Radu Campeanu, during a news conference in Timisoara on Sunday.

Mr Campeanu also opined that the emergence of the Romanian Communist Party in the public life was anachronical from an intellectual and political point of view and that, in any case, it could emerge with a modified ideology.

Election Law, Iliescu as Pragmatic Leader Viewed

AU2603191190 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 17 Mar 90 pp 1, 2

[Magdalena Boiangiu article: "After Voting the Law"]

[Text] Well, it is possible: Under the current circumstances in Romania when the word "suspicion" is the most often used word in public speeches, it is possible to adopt a tangible and coherent, and let us hope effective, law which does not proceed from the premise that all people are lying, stealing, and cheating. Those who followed the proceedings of the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC] know that this agreement was not concluded by eluding, but by sincerely, and often sharply, expressing contradictory views; they know that

this agreement was achieved on the basis of negotiations—an essential characteristic of a dialogue, whose aim it is to conclude a peace treaty not a declaration of war. The parties, the independent, county, and Front representatives are surely aware that their work is not perfect. However, what is essential is the fact that the elections will take place on the planned date and under conditions of the greatest freedom ever known to Romania in the past 45 years. There are several parties; they receive and will continue to receive help from the government, and they may receive funds from abroad provided they declare them.

Therefore the inner calm exuded from what Mr. Ion Iliescu says both on television, at press conferences with permanently Bucharest-based correspondents and with special foreign press envoys is not only explicable, but also justified.

Three months after the revolution with certain days that lasted more than a century, Mr. Iliescu appears to us as a pragmatic leader, interested in optimally solving immediate tasks and in possible solutions for the present and acceptable ones for the future. Mr. Iliescu's person has been and continues to be contested because of his membership in the leadership apparatus of the former communist regime. Had he wanted to seize power by any means—as he is accused of doing—he could have denied his past pathetically. The honest way in which he admits it seems to me a more secure guarantee than an improvised declaration. Mr. Iliescu is neither Richard III nor John, the Lackland. He is a man who copes with circumstances, not without hesitation or hasty decisions, which are often interpreted in a malevolent way. Certainly, his position is very different from that of the representatives of the Association of Former Political Detainees and Victims of the Dictatorship. This is normal. It is important for the future of democracy in Romania that this association exists, that it receives moral and financial support for its members, and that it contributes to eliminating those who committed abuses. These preconditions have been created. What is not advisable is that the desire for vendetta—which is explicable up to a point and which is not characteristic of this association alone—become a violent reality which, in turn, could lead to denouncement, repression, opportunism, and demagogy. All of us know the means by which the communist dictatorship comes to power and preserves it. Our memory is not that short. Some representatives of public opinion believe that there are obvious signs and call for vigilance. Maybe. But at least as obvious are the efforts by some foreign, extreme, rightist forces to hold a place in Romania's—for the time being—democratic scene. If this country became democratic indeed, would it tolerate—for the sake of pluralism—fascism and the Iron Guards, albeit in their "neo" form? It would, indeed, be an original contribution, unfortunately, with a quite well known end. The fascists and Iron Guards existed a long time ago and we tend to view those who try to revive their symbols and slogans as idiotic children. I am afraid that they have the same opinion about us.

Certainly, the "cadres problem" is still very important. The normal, nonviolent democratization process of the activity will eliminate in a short time both incompetent and immoral people, because they are actually typical products of the communist bureaucracy. This process can neither be unleashed nor completed by a single man or a group of people with special tasks in this area. The strengthening of the parties and their effective contribution to the management process will succeed in creating the type of society where the competition of values—which nowhere in the world is taking place under absolutely pure conditions—will ultimately yield the expected results. The essential condition for Romania to stop counting on humanitarian aid from neighbors or remote countries—thus becoming a respected partner in a world whose political vortex is also explained by the need for economic expansion—is the restoration of our country's productive potential. Then relations with foreign partners and foreign countries will also become normal. In this respect, a consensus has been reached—at least in connection with the programs—in all parties. The need to maintain positive relations with neighbors, Mr. Iliescu said at the aforementioned press conference, is a "question of lucidity" and will also eliminate a number of tensions at home.

No matter how quieting Mr. Iliescu's smile on television, the time for harmony has not come yet. His arguments will be opposed, negated, reinterpreted and misinterpreted. And I do not even believe that everything he says is undisputable. However, I hope that later polemics will take place in a civilized and urban way, and I like to believe that this is possible.

Peasant Party Official on Party Platform

AU2703174790 Bucharest LUMEA AZI in Romanian No. 10 8 Mar 90 p 19

[Interview with Constantin Marinescu, first vice president of the Romanian Peasant Party, by Mihaela Bruma; place and date not given: "We Are Primarily Concerned About the Destiny of Our Continent"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] We are a group with moderate views, that is, a center-right party. As far as the country's form of government is concerned, we favor a republic in which democracy is reinstated with its full rights, allowing people to regain their dignity, and allowing us to join the civilized nations of Europe and the world.

The agrarian policy of the party envisages the allocation of two hectares of land to each family of peasants—in order to avoid discrepancies—and that land should be tilled with updated agricultural equipment. We wish to set up credit banks, and thus to give peasants the opportunity to procure means of labor for themselves. We believe that it is necessary to make sure that the Romanian peasant lives the life he deserves and we wish to give him back his confidence and the place that he

deserves in Romanian society. "Eternity was born in the village," as you know, as Blaga [a famous Romanian poet] says.

We call for a market economy, based on the law of demand and supply, and through this, we envisage a decentralization of the decisionmaking system. We believe that small industry should pass to the private sector and, in this respect, we want to tell you that we favor privatization and foreign capital entering enterprises. However, we mention that the proportion of those using this capital cannot be too high (of maximum 45 percent) in order to avoid our enterprises from being "grabbed" by foreign capital. [passage omitted]

We favor the dissolution of both military blocs—NATO and the Warsaw Pact. As a European country, it is natural that we should be primarily concerned about the destiny of our continent. Therefore, we support the idea of a united Europe and militate for its achievement, a Europe in which people should be united in spite of their diversity. Only in this way will we be able to build a continent of peace and of good-neighborliness in which all of us can live in complete understanding.

Our party believes that our relations with our neighbors and with all the other countries of northern and Eastern Europe represent an important element of cooperation, especially as we are bound by the joint struggle to achieve a true democracy in our countries. While we work on broadening the nation's capability for cooperation, we can say that, as a matter of fact, we wish to cooperate with all the countries and democratic governments. We support the states that are fighting for freedom, and we are against all systems of totalitarian government. [passage omitted]

National Liberal Party 'Splits Up'

AU2703183190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1720 GMT 27 Mar 90

["Political Life: National Liberal Party Splits Up"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 27/3/1990—The meeting of the foundation of a new political grouping—the Liberal Union—from the National Liberal Party [NLP] was held in Bucharest. The new grouping, which is led by Ion I. Bratianu, sets itself to rally political forces and social associations "to find a liberal and responsible solution to the problems confronting the society and the state."

Asked about the reason of the scission among the liberals, Mr Ion I. Bratianu answered a ROMPRES reporter that it was due to the exclusivist methods of Mr Campeanu, the present leader of the NLP, of treating his assistants and possible challengers, to the distant and authoritative manner in which he tries to impose his will, to his lack of interest in and disrespect for others' opinions, and, last but not least, because he weakened the liberals' unity." [quotation marks as received]

Referring to the split-up, Mr Radu Campeanu said to the same ROMPRES reporter that it was due to "Mr Ion I. Bratianu's personal ambitions." "The National Liberal Party cannot and will not be the property of a family," stated Mr Campeanu.

According to the opinion of political circles, this scission in full election campaign will affect the NLP's position to a relatively small extent, this party being among the ones leading the competition for the election of the parliament and of the country's president.

Liberal Party Gives Platform 'Outline'

AU2803103190 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 17 Mar 90 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Outline of Program-Platforms of Political Parties: Liberal (Freedom) Party of Romania"]

[Text] From the provisions of the program-platform presented by Mr. Mihai Constantinescu, vice president of the party:

Romania should be a state governed by the rule of law with a constitutional monarchy or a republic as its form of government (on the basis of a national referendum) and should be based on the principle of complete separation, without any ambiguity, of state powers.

It should guarantee freedom of association and exclude any form of censorship.

Within the framework of the united Romanian state, whose territory is inalienable and inviolable, complete equality of rights for all citizens, irrespective of race, nationality, sex, and religion must be ensured. The state has to support the cultural development of all ethnic minorities and guarantee their collective rights, complete religious freedom, universal, equal, direct, and secret ballot in order to create the national representation in the bicameral system.

The determined and unequivocal introduction of certain elements of the free-market oriented economy, excluding any signs of centralism. The abolition of state monopoly on foreign trade along with encouraging foreign capital investments in our country, with or without Romanian participation in order to modernize the country as rapidly as possible.

Encouraging and strengthening individual farmsteads, the distmantling of current agricultural production cooperatives and replacing them withs forms of association based on free consent, the elimination of state agricultural ownership, and distribution of the give lands to farmers and farmers' associations.

Reintroduction of the "autonomous status" of the state-owned rail transportation, energy and mining sectors, and the gradual privatization of the other industrial sectors, trade, and public services. Reestablishment of the whole labor legislature and the recognition of the right to strike and of trade union freedom. Reduction of

the work week in general to 40 hours per week in the first stage and to less in hard labor sectors.

Reorganization of the whole education system by recognizing the possibility of opening private education institutes under state supervision and the autonomy of higher education institutes. Guaranteeing the Romanian citizens complete freedom to travel abroad.

The foreign policy of the Romanian state has to focus on maintaining positive relations with all neighboring states and the same type of relations as those between the two Germanys between Romanian and the Moldavian SSR (Bessarabia); expanding and improving relations with the European Community, especially with states of the same extraction; observance of the foreign commitments made so far. The party's provisional headquarters are at: Hotel Dorobanti (mezzanine floor). Telephone: 11 08 60 extension 300.

Article on NSF Challenges, 'Ostrich Attitude'

AU2803070690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1950 GMT 27 Mar 90

["Agora: Ostrich Attitude"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 27/3/1990—Under the heading "On Certain Present-Day Concerns or Who Is Afraid of the NSF?" [National Salvation Front] writer Helmut Britz, Romanian citizen of German nationality insists on some problems of the current Romanian political life in the weekly supplement "LIBERTATE CU DREPTATE" (liberty with justice) of the Brasov publication "ASTRA."

Recognizing the National Salvation Front's historic merit to have succeeded in constituting itself in the exceptional conditions of a spontaneous bloody confrontation between the people and the dictatorship, the author highlights the chief contradiction the NSF Council had to face with, namely to stabilize the economic and social life and to take over, even to consolidate, the former structures, the former decision-making system and the control apparatus. Hence, Helmut Britz explains, the general persistent impression that only some facets have changed and, in fact, everything has remained as before, which would explain the NSFC's hesitations.

Till the elections, the author opines, if the former structures cannot be changed, it would be necessary at least to massively replace the managerial staff through an action initiated from top to bottom but effected from bottom to top.

In connection with the huge problem stirring up fears and disquiet—the Securitate, the writer holds the view that their majority which have proved their loyalty to the people and fought against the special units that started the odious massacre must remove the true criminals from among them to win again their lost dignity. Thus the condition would be created for the settlement of the most serious problem which stifles us all when thinking of all the martyrs who lost their lives. In the context, Helmut Britz mentions the tremendous difference between the 59,213 dead, a figure which was the ground for the charges brought against the dictators and for their execution, and the only 684 dead referred to in the trial of their four top associates.

Helmut Britz considers that, as regards the RCP [Romanian Communist Party], the NSF took the ostrich attitude stating purely and simply it would no longer exist. The truth about this party is... it still exists. And it will continue to exist till it will dissolve itself at a special congress. No court in the world could do this thing, the author of the article shows, also wondering why such a congress is not held as it might be the first honest congress of this party.

Military Cadres Collective Presents Letter

AU2103141890 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 11 Mar p 2

[Letter from Captain Aurel Diaconu, on behalf of a military cadres collective in Bucharest Garrison, to ADEVARUL; date not given: "An Opinion"]

[Text] Esteemed Mister Director of the ADEVARUL newspaper.

In the spirit of free expression of one's opinion and with the wish to make a contribution to the improvement of interpersonal relations within the Army, we addressed the chief editor of the weekly ARMATA POPORULUI (PEOPLE'S ARMY) with the request to publish some opinions in connection with this issue. Since the text was rejected, we ask you to publish it in ADEVARUL.

We have requested that our opinions be published in the press because the refusal of some of the members of the self-proclaimed Committee of Action for the Democratization of the Army to listen to other opinions, especially opinions that they do not like, has become notorious. The most telling case is their unjustified attitude in front of the prime minister, who, in the interest of the Army, advanced other ideas as well, apart from the ones that belong to the Committee, and which were rejected with real aggressiveness. This represents a behavior and a mistaken way of understanding democracy, which is alien to us, to the other cadres of the Army.

We all learned about the appeal issued on 12 February 1990 by the delegations of certain military units and we agree with their claims to the government, claims that we consider major and stringent ones. At the same time, we believe that all military personnel agree that these complaints are not corollary to the problem which should be solved within the army, they are only a part of the problems in some cases not even the most important part. The great real gain of the action taken by our colleagues is the opening of paths for dialogue among all the military who think with responsibility about the destinies of the institution to which they belong.

In this respect, we should not forget that the Army is strong by itself and it does not need the support either of political groups or of more or less occasional street supporters. It does not need approval from the leadership of the country either, as long as vital issues are not being raised, issues that refer to the defense of the country and to conceiving and applying the principles of the Army doctrine.

In order to make the creative dialogue acquire a richer content, we propose that clubs and associations of cadres be set up in all commands, units, and detachments, where all ideas and opinions should be discussed and a democratic framework for promoting and defending military interests should be ensured. These should be free and independent organizations with an open character.

Thus, we can prevent the danger that the dialogue would be carried out by a restricted group of cadres, many of them non-representative, such as the recently set up Committee of Actions for the Democratization of the Army.

Even if we do not accept this form of manifestation, we understand that the actions of some military to go out into the streets and proclaim our justified complaints were due to a hiatus in communication which had turned into a contradiction between certain military cadres and the Army leadership of that time. However, this contradiction does not exist any longer. Therefore, we suggest that we should express our thanks to the respective committee for obtaining major and immediate results and forgive it for the embarrassing position in which the Romanian military institution had been placed through the demonstrations at the beginning of February, an unprecedented event in the history of any Army, even if it is the Army of an underdeveloped country.

If the members of a collective group are motivated only by the wish to do good to the Army and do not look for individual advantage, we believe that they will understand that the mission of the committee to which they belong is transcended by history and they will withdraw from public life and engage in current professional activities.

However, we cannot help expressing our views that some officers in question make use of the position they had acquired for their own interest. Nevertheless, we are ready to give them credit, even if in their career they displayed an opportunistic behavior, using all available means—including the former party organizations—to advance in their careers.

On behalf of a collective of military cadres from Bucharest Garrison, signed by Captain Aurel Diaconu

Situation of Handicapped in Romania Viewed

AU2203112390 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 11 Mar 90 p 2

[Tudor Artenie article: "We Want to Work, Not to Beg"]

[Excerpts] A child is running after a ball. Two young people are dancing in a disco. A man steps out of a car. A woman is walking and pushing a pram. A man is slowly crossing a park.... People are walking along the streets using both their legs. Or at least that is what it looks like. Because life presents itself in a different way as well. In a different, strange, and sad way as if to spoil the natural balance, which we try to avoid, to ignore, and to hide. [passage omitted]

It is difficult for a normal person to deal with sick, infirm, and handicapped people. [passage omitted]

Ceausescu did not do anything for these people. On the contrary, he tried to hide such people as much as he could. There were no medicines, artificial limbs, wheelchairs, or treatment facilities. Unfortunately, the situation of the handicapped has not changed a great deal since the revolution either. We have been granted some aid in this sense, but not enough. There are more than 400,000 handicapped people with a motor system deficiency. Then there are the blind, the deaf and dumb, and the neuro-psychics, while conditions for their material and moral existence are more than just lacking.

Sunday, 4 March, a meeting was held to set up the Society of the Physically Handicapped of Romania. This is a society of the handicapped with afflictions of the motor system. The motto of this meeting actually suggested the title of this article. The aim of this society is to ensure the moral and professional security of the handicapped. For this purpose, the society presented to the audience—more than several hundred people from all over the country—a program-platform envisaging, among other things, the incorporation of the handicapped into the category of hard work; an adequate pension plan in accordance with their special situation; medical assistance free of charge; the right to work for those who are able to work; and the creation of facilities catering to the handicapped. No registration fees will be charged. [passage omitted]

We believe that the problem of the handicapped is the problem of the whole society. It is the problem of the government, which has to concern itself much more with this category of people, who were unjustly disregarded up to now. It is the problem of each of us, not because we could face such a thing ourselves, but because one of the rules of humaneness is respect for our fellow beings. [passage omitted]

Daily Urges Farmers To 'Till the Land'

AU2203200190 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 11 Mar 90 p 3

[Eugen Sasu article: "The Land Cannot Wait for Elections"]

[Text] The only efficient investment which can speedily take us out of the current food impasse is work in agriculture. Until the situation is clarified, until we have a stable parliament and government which can take steps for broader privatization, the land cannot remain untilled. Given the great amount of agricultural land available to us, it would be a waste to resort to imports time and again. Regardless of the current form of ownership, there is a natural law of the land, a law which obliges one to give it everything it needs on time, so that it can give one back its yield. Of course, there are a number of complaints against the provisions of Decree-Law No. 42, but things are so complicated that they cannot [be discussed] right away. Some peasants want more land, others want back the land that was taken from them during cooperativization. There are also some who are content with 5,000 square meters of land. More serious is the fact that some peasants want back exactly the same land that they owned 30-40 years ago, regardless of the fact that now it may contain various buildings, houses, vineyards, or orchards. Many of them took justice into their own hands. They did what they thought was right, namely they destroyed the vineyards or orchards, demanded large amounts of money from those who built houses there in the meantime, and so forth.

We are now in March, a month when one should prepare for the future crop; however, the aforementioned misunderstandings continue to persist in many places. It is high time that we remember the law of the land and give it what it needs. In many counties people have realized that, and the sowing of the first crops is in full swing. But this does not apply everywhere. One can say that there are places where the distribution of land was not even started as the aforementioned decree (for the time being, we do not have another decree in this respect; it is the only one capable of regulating this action, hence it is the only one which must be observed). Some are waiting for instructions "from above." What kind of instructions? Waiting for them may cause the land to turn fallow. The important thing now is to till the land, regardless of the size of the plot or whether it is state, cooperative, group, or individual property. One should not wait until after the May elections, when other regulations on agriculture and incentives for peasants may be adopted. Anyway, we hope that all field workers will be consulted then, when new regulations are worked out.

Stanculescu, Voican-Voiculescu on Ceausescu Trial

AU2703115690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0822 GMT 27 Mar 90

["The Film of the Revolution—Recourse to Method" -ROMPRES headline]

[Excerpts] Bucharest ROMPRES, 20/3/1990—In an interview exclusively granted for paper "DIMINEATA" and published under the heading "Time of Disclosures" Colonel General Victor Atanasie Stanculescu, minister of national defence, and Gelu Voican-Voiculescu, deputy prime minister refer in detail to the circumstances that led to the Ceausescus' trial which continues to be seen as "a legend."

Rejecting the "enormities of the French press," Gelu Voican-Voiculescu denies he could have been "the man who tried Ceausescu" as he is not a magistrate and, hence, he could not be in the panel of judges. He shows he learned about the Ceausescus' arrest in a military unit in the night of 22 to 23 December while in the office of Defence Minister Colonel General Victor Stanculescu.

I revealed him that "top secret" in those hot hours of the revolution, the general says, because I was impressed by the firm and piercing look and quasi military bearing of Mr Voican whom I had never met before. When he came closer to me and told me by making a surprisingly exact survey what the situation was at the time, also delivering an original lecture on Descartes' recourse to method, showing concern over the fact that the two were fugitives about the country, "I found it natural to tell him the truth, that they were prisoners at Tirgoviste." "I was surprised by the reaction of my collocutor," the general further shows, who invoked inter alia, state reasons proposing me directly the variant of immediately suppressing them, inquiring how fast it could be carried out. [sentence as received]

Aware of the scope of the terrorist attack in the Palace Square, Mr Voican says, I quickly evaluated the really tragic consequences of keeping them alive, while the idea of their setting free "terrified me."

"I was receptive" and "subscribed" to Mr Voican's idea, I called Tirgoviste immediately, General Stanculescu says, and "I took all the measures so that that solution should be applied." Only an order given by phone was enough to carry it through. The code words were "recourse to method."

Soon the arrest of the two was no longer a secret. Mr Ion Iliescu rejected the idea of their execution without a trial in which Ceausescu's dictatorship and its disastrous effects on the country could be denounced. Under those

circumstances I did not tell Mr Ion Iliescu how far Colonel General Victor A. Stanculescu and I had gone in organizing the tyrants' judgment and execution.

But every hour added new casualties from civilians and the military who fought an unequal fight with an invisible enemy. Fast the situation changing became dramatic. On 24 December the revolution leaders narrowly escaped death leaving the television building the ground floor of which had fallen into the hands of terrorists in a light armoured car. The terrorist attacks became more frequent also on the National Defence Ministry building and the party headquarters from where again we had a narrow escape for the fifth time.

At the Ministry of National Defence we once more considered the idea of suppressing the two tyrants right away in the face of the bitter resistance put up by terrorists motivated immeasurable fear of the ominous pair, on the one hand, and hope for reward in case it had been restored to power! On the other. [passage as received]

All that was said in a whisper between us two lest the Securitate should overhear us, said Colonel General Stanculescu. We were afraid lest it should not counter our plan, in spite of its having formally sided with the revolution. Generals Vlad, Bucurescu and Vasile were those we were afraid of most.

General Guse, says Mr Voican, who appeared to go particularly well along with general Vlad, chief of Securitate, eventually took a rigid and downright hostile position to certain civilian members of the revolution leadership, including Mr Iliescu and myself.

Anyhow, "the trial solution was a compromise dictated by the aggravation of the situation to the point where it became threatening. My first proposal, says Mr Voican, was dropped and an exceptional military tribunal was to judge the two. The law permitted it, all the more so as a state of emergency had been decreed by Ceausescu who was trapped in the provisions of his last decree that tribunal was to try the case summarily.

Significantly, Colonel General Stanculescu goes on, the commander of the Tirgoviste military unit told me afterwards that, in case I had ordered him to dispose of the two, he would have improvised a court with three officers sitting as judges to summarily try them and sentence them to death in the name of the Romanian people. But that would have only been a fake.

In the prosecutor's file a handwritten that history will record was issued to set up a special military tribunal. [sentence as received] I was appointed to organise the trial, because it had been my idea, says Mr Gelu Voican-Voiculescu. [passage omitted]

In continuation of the interview on the "Dictators' Trial," "DIMINEATA" shows:

During the trial "but for having observed the legal procedures, the counsels for the defence offered the dictators unexpected chances," says Deputy Prime Minister Gelu Voican-Voiculescu, because, though they slipped, at a given time, along the indictment line, they made a few essential points which would have saved them. They asked Elena Ceausescu whether she was mentally ill. Fortunately she categorically denied it. The counsel asked her again, explaining her it was not an insulting question, on the contrary, he tried to ease her condition, since, had she been ill, she could not have been punished. But she continued to deny it. Had she given a positive answer, her health condition should have been expertized for several months. I was afraid of him as, with his shrewdness, he could have availed himself of that opportunity and tangled things up, Mr Voican says. There still was another opportunity, Colonel General Victor Atanasie Stanculescu said, at the end of the trial, when the dictators could have rejected less violently and indignantly to appeal. So, the death penalty was definitive and could be immediately executed.

Had they not rejected the appeal, comments Mr Voican, another five days should have passed according to emergency procedures, when they could have made the appeal and only on the sixth day the sentence would have been definitive and could have been executed. In case of appeal, the tribunal should have had to meet again and re-examine the situation taking the grounds for the appeal as a basis. Nevertheless, given the seriousness of the charges, the appeal would have been rejected and both of them executed after several days which would have prolonged the street fights with the terrorists, and still more innocent people would have died. It could be clearly seen that after they were executed and the first fragments of the trial were shown on the television the intensity of the fight dropped evidently, and in a few days it ceased.

After the judgment was passed, the court and the audience left the room. The soldiers tied up their hands despite their fierce opposition. Only then had they understood they had no way out. When the soldiers wanted to take them out one by one they opposed desperately shouting they wanted to die together. They were ultimately driven out together and shot simultaneously.

Lawyers Union Congress Elects Leadership

AU2703170590 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 15 Mar 90 p 3

[Article by the Lawyers' Union of Romania: "A Profession That Defends Itself?"]

[Excerpts] Decree-Law No. 90 of 28 February 1990 restored the autonomy of the profession of lawyers through the establishment of the Lawyers' Union of Romania, which takes over the prerogatives of the Justice Ministry in the management of the activity of lawyers. The union was set up on 10 March 1990 by the Congress of Romanian Lawyers. [passage omitted]

The congress proceedings were most fruitful. During 10 hours of discussions, the elected representatives of the lawyers—truly valuable figures of the Romanian legal profession—laid down the guidelines for the development of their profession, in accordance with socioeconomic realities in our country. After half a century of oppression, the first truly free congress of lawyers took place in an atmosphere of enthusiasm, competence, and trust in the true exertion of the right to defense in the courts. [passage omitted]

The congress elected the union's council, consisting of 53 members, the majority of which are deans of bar associations throughout the country. On 11 March, seven candidates were proposed for the position of president of the union. In a secret ballot with 49 valid votes, 39 opted for attorney Victor Anagnoste. [passage omitted]

Attorneys Virgil Popovici, pro-dean of the Bucharest Bar Association, Remus Luca, dean of the Cluj Bar Association, and Mircea Voiculescu, dean of the Prahova Bar Association, unanimously appreciated personalities of the Romanian legal profession, were elected vice presidents of the Lawyers' Union. [passage omitted]

Free Market Requires Convertibility of Leu

AU2703182790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1714 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 27/3/1990—Any government measure regarding the transition to free market and the introduction of foreign capital into the country are conditional upon the convertibility of the national currency, the leu, writes daily "ROMANIA LIBERA."

If the leu is not convertible, the daily writes, then the introduction of any foreign capital into the country will but create jobs payable in non-convertible lei, with labour export, with the working population in the country having no profit. This means nothing but cheap labour export effectively incorporated in products achieved by means of foreign capital, a situation called in the past colonialism.

Anyone who invests hard currency in Romania would like to recover it and get a profit in hard currency as well, not in lei, if the Romanian currency is not convertible. Hence, the investor will sell his commodity abroad, that is he will export it, the population of our country benefiting by it only if it is payable in convertible lei, the newspaper specifies.

Warning Against Depleting Energy Resources

AU2703183590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1741 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 27/3/1990—The country's energy resources have been irresponsibly exploited over the past 45 years, writes "MAGAZIN" weekly.

The exploitation of oil, natural gas and coal in an exponential manner led to the exhaustion of primary resources, the energy policy promoted by the old regime ignoring completely any warning about the precariousness of our fuel reserves. And all the more serious as in 1926, Engineer Mihai Vasiliu, an expert in the domain, showed, on the basis of estimations of the time, that the country's reserves could last 245 years with coal, 24 years with natural gas and 22 years with oil, in consideration of the 1926 consumption of ten million tonnes of coal, three billion cubic meters of gas and 0.5 million tonnes of crude.

According to those estimations the exploitation of Romanian oil had to virtually cease in 1946. As about 14 million tonnes of oil, 30-35 billion cubic meters of gas and more than 30 million tonnes of coal had been extracted annually over the past 10-15 years it is obvious that, without exaggerating or dramatizing, the future generations have no resources, hydrocarbons in particular, ensured.

Even if new deposits were subsequently discovered, their limited character remained a reality ignored by the dictatorial clique, and their careless exploitation made Romania's reserves of fossil fuels scarce.

Conditions for Cooperation With IBRD Viewed

AU2703173890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1435 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 27/3/1990—From 19 to 23 March 1990 a mission of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development [IBRD] (the World Bank) was in Bucharest for a preliminary survey of the economic situation in Romania and for talks on the prospects for cooperation, especially in agriculture, energy, finance and banking.

The IBRD mission visited Romania as part of its open policy pursuing the restoration of a normal relationship with this bank as well as with other international financial institutions.

The talks with representatives of the Ministries of Finance, the National Economy, Agriculture, Energy, Mines, Petroleum, Metallurgy, Labour and Social Security, Instruction, Health, of banks and the National Commission of Statistics covered the economic reforms to be initiated in the transition from a highly centralized planned economy to a market economy, in the conditions of a political consensus between political parties and the caretaker government.

The two sides agreed that Romanian and World Bank experts began a concrete diagnosis of the state of the Romanian economy on the basis of real statistical data in order to work out alternatives for a financial banking system reform and formulate options for the banking system, the promotion of the private sector in agriculture, including technology and materials, a short-term energy strategy.

Stress was laid also on the study that should be made of the impact of economic and political reforms on society, workforce, unemployment, and education, including retraining.

On the basis of this analysis, the development priorities should be set after the parliamentary election, along with the most urgent projects that would require financial assistance from the world bank and its branches.

French Health Ministry Helps Combat AIDS

AU2803105490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1853 GMT 27 mar 90

["Aids With Children: An Optimistic Forecast"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 27/3/1990—A meeting was held recently at the Ministry of Health between French and Romanian experts, which falls within the context of a far-reaching project of scientific collaboration at a government level. The aim of the meeting is to improve the national AIDS-fighting programme and to increase the exchange of experience and experts in the domain.

In his address, Professor A. Oriscelli, a well-known immunologist at L'hopital des Enfants Malades of Paris, assessed it would have been useful for various Romanian experts to come to France and study both AIDS cases and the French physicians work style, taking into account their achievements in curing AIDS with children. The question of blood donors was also raised as they must be compulsorily tested, which implies specialized personnel and reliable tests. An ample programme is under way in france to assist Romania in various areas. Now there are more than 100 Romanian children in France under specialized control.

Democratic Labor Party Issues Weekly FAPTA

AU2703103790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0924 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 27/3/1990—The first issue of FAPTA (THE DEED), edited by the Democratic Labour Party, was brought out. This eight-page weekly includes the sections "Before the Elections", "The Country Today", "Economy and Society", "Culture at a Crossroads" and "Towards the 21st Century", which run articles, commentaries and feature reports on the course of the political, economic, social and cultural life in Romania in the period elapsed since the revolution, emphasizing, inter alia, the crisis in the democratic resolution of the problems the Romanian society encounters at present. The weekly gives extensive space to recent events in Transylvania, a province where, the weekly writes, "an acute national crisis" occurs.

Liberal Party Publishes Newspaper VIITORUL

AU2703182990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1716 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 27/3/1990—The first issue of the newspaper "VIITORUL" (THE FUTURE), the mouthpiece of the National Liberal Party [NLP], was brought out today. The large four pages of the newspaper, whose director is Gelu Netea, run articles and commentaries under such headlines as "Today in Timisoara, Tomorrow All Over the Country," "The Observance of the Rights of All Nationalities and the Recognition of Their Cultural Personality," "The Power of Reason—the Power of Tranquility," "Small Steps Towards Liberalization," etc., which refer to stringent issues related to the post-revolutionary situation in Romania, the inter-ethnic conflict in Transylvania and the citizens' every-day life, all seen from the angle of this party. Contributing to the newspaper are such famous writers and men of letters as Marin Sorescu, Mircea Ciobanu, Gheorghe Tomozei, Nicolae Balota, Dumitru Micu and others.

The newspaper frontpages the speech Mr. Radu Campeanu, secretary-general of the NLP, made in Timisoara on Sunday during a meeting marking the anniversary of 100 days since the start of the revolution in that martyr town. The front page also prints the joint statement of the NLP and the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania in connection with the conflicts between ethnic Romanians and Hungarians and Transylvania.

BASARABIA SI BUCOVINA New Periodical

AU2703183390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1723 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 27/3/1990—The first issue of the historical, cultural and information periodical "BASARABIA SI BUCOVINA" has come out in Bucharest. Issued on the 72nd anniversary of the decision of the country's Council of Bessarabia to unite with Romania (27 March 1918), the periodical, edited by Nicolae Lupan, runs in its 28 pages numerous articles, documents and accounts of Bessarabia's and Bukovina's union with Romania, statements by participants in that historic act, feature reports on the political life of Romania and of the Moldavian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic], patriotic poems by Romanian poets between the Prut and the Dniester, appeals and letters addressed to the inhabitants of Bessarabia and to the politicians of the time, articles on the historical evolution of the two provinces. The Statute of the "Pro Bessarabia and Bukovina" World Association—under whose auspices the periodical is brought out—is also published.

Kosovo Poisoning Termed 'Deception'

LD2803112590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0938 GMT 28 Mar 90

[Text] Belgrade, 28 March (TANJUG)—All information available to the SSNO [Federal Secretariat of National Defense] only confirms that what happened in Kosovo recently was not poisoning, but a stage-managed deception perpetrated by the main protaganists of Albanian nationalism and separatism. This was stressed today by Colonel Vuk J. Obradovic, newly appointed SSNO press spokesman, during his first official news conference, held in the Yugoslav People's Army Club in Belgrade.

We are dealing here with ordinary lies and crude speculations, said Obradovic, adding that the essence of the problem is that Albanian nationalists and separatists are trying to maintain at any price an atmosphere of tension, to encourage interethnic national conflicts, to torpedo efforts to normalize the situation in Kosovo, and to disseminate the picture, especially abroad, about an alleged threat posed to the Albanians and an allegedly repressive attitude toward them in Yugoslavia. Besides, the Yugoslav People's Army does not manufacture or possess toxic chemicals for military use; and no toxic chemicals exist in the world capable of making any distinction at all between people exposed to their effect in terms of their nationality, said the SSNO press spokesman.

Situation 'Still Difficult' in Kosovo

AU2703192290

[Editorial Report] Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian at 1700 GMT on 27 March devotes a 20-minute bloc of news on the situation in various Kosovo communes. The situation is generally described as "still grave and complicated," "burdened," "tense," or "still difficult," in connection with the situation in the communes covered. The reports also mention the situation in primary and secondary schools, which appears to be "gradually normalizing," although another general term used in the reports is "only partial resumption of lessons." A report from Pec commune mentions the "suspension" of local militia and their replacement with Serbs. There are also continuing reports about citizens' meetings in urban and rural areas, at which the "maltreatment" of citizens is being condemned, in addition to demands for speedy information concerning cases of poisoning of children as reported in the past few days. These reports generally mention also the formation of new branches of the Kosovo Democratic Alliance and of youth parliaments. Several cases of the formal ending of blood feuds between Albanian families are also reported in some communes.

With regard to reports about further cases of poisoning among schoolchildren, a report from Djakovic says that "until late afternoon, two cases of poisoning were reported in the local hospital today." A report from Suva Reka says that some 300 pupils were affected altogether during the past few days in the commune, but there is no mention of new cases. Only two new cases are reported from Gnjilane Commune.

Federal Bodies Discuss 'Poisoning' in Kosovo

AU2803073590 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Mar 90 p 1

[TANJUG report: "Planned Provocation"]

[Text] Belgrade—On 24 March, talks were held in the Federal Executive Council with the responsible federal bodies, which are continuously monitoring the situation in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo about the situation in the province, especially with regard to the alleged poisoning of a large group of Albanian pupils in several places in the province.

As stated by the Federal Secretariat for Labor, Health, Veterans Issues, and Social Welfare, the results of the analysis carried out at the military medical institute in Belgrade, involving over 100 blood and urine samples, show that there was no poisoning or epidemic whatsoever. This obviously involves planned action by Albanian extreme nationalists aimed at exerting additional psychological influence on the public through deceit in order to prevent the process of the consolidation of circumstances in the province and cause further interethnic clashes with possible tragic consequences.

As stated, the authoritative bodies were instructed to undertake further measures in cooperation with the forces of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo to protect the constitutional order and the personal safety and security of property of all citizens of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo. In particular, energetic measures will be undertaken against all unrestrained and illegal reaction to the events in Kosovo or anywhere in the country that could lead to the further deterioration of the already complex political-security situation.

54 Policemen Suspended in Vrosevac

LD2703213190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1218 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Text] Urosevac, 27 Mar (TANJUG)—Fifty-four policemen have been relieved of their duties in police stations and departments of police stations covered by the Urosevac security center. Relieved of their duties, they returned arms and equipment and are now available [for other duties] and will receive monetary compensation. Real working and ideopolitical differentiation will be carried out among these workers but also among others. Once guilt has been established, some will be given new duties, while others will be handed notices terminating their employment.

26 Suspended in Pec

LD2703213290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1323 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Summary] Pec, 27 Mar (TANJUG)—According to the Internal Affairs Secretariat in Pec, 26 policemen have been suspended from duty in the area controlled by the Pec security center after a decision to put the Internal Affairs Secretariat of the Socialist Republic of Serbia in charge of security in Kosovo. Those suspended include the commanders of police stations in Pec, Klina, and Decani.

Authorities Find Arms Cache in Kosovo

LD2703212890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1252 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Mar (TANJUG)—In the course of the search of nine houses belonging to the Ukela and Nimani families in the Pec suburb of Kapisnica, public security service members of the Internal Affairs Secretariat of the Socialist Republic of Serbia discovered an arms cache containing a Winchester carbine rifle, two guns, one revolver and some ammunition. In a statement, the Serbian Internal Affairs Secretariat says that its officers also found 10 passports issued in different names. There is a well-founded suspicion that they are forgeries. The cache also contained 10 gas masks, 17 military topography maps, 230,000 deutsch marks, and 360 kg of processed tobacco probably intended for smuggling. An quantity of propaganda material has also been found. Six people have been detained in connection with the discovery.

Commentary on Future Constitutional Changes

AU2703132390 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 21 Mar 90 p 7

[R. Rugova commentary: "No Constitution To Suit Personal Tastes"]

[Text] After what happened on 17 March at the Lipljan Culture Hall, it does not require much imagination to see that a single spark would have sufficed to add a new dimension, that of large-scale interethnic skirmishes, to the already very serious Kosovo crisis. Fortunately, this did not happen. If it had happened, the possible tragedy would have eclipsed any assessment of who was right and who was wrong, whether the Serbs were in danger from the Albanians (who were founding a branch of the Kosovo Democratic Alliance in the Culture Hall), or whether the Albanians were in danger from the Serbs (when a number of Serbs and Montenegrins entered the hall, breaking down the door and shouting, while 1,000 more gathered in the yard).

Unfortunately, even now, when there is a need for cool heads to ensure such a thing never happens again, this incident, too, has been judged from different angles according to the regular practice by which the Serbs and Montenegrins have one truth about Kosovo, and the Albanians another. For the former, it was necessary to react, even in such a way, to the formation of the Democratic Alliance branch, in view of the many charges that have been leveled against it. ("Who gave them permission to use the Culture Hall?"). For the latter, the incident was contrived according to a prepared scenario, in order to provide an excuse for the next day's gathering of Serbs and Montenegrins and for the announcement that, as Serbian Presidency member Miroslav Djordjevic said, a new constitution for the Socialist Republic of Serbia will be approved within five to six months, giving the republic full powers in Kosovo.

It seems incomprehensible that it could be announced at such a Serbian and Montenegrin protest gathering that the Serbian Presidency will soon produce proposals for drafting a new republican constitution, incorporating changes by which, as Miroslav Djordjevic put it, the republic will be enabled to exercise its full state powers throughout its territory, the favor shown over many years to the Albanian majority to the detriment of the Serbs and Montenegrins will be eliminated, and Kosovo will revert to its previous name—Kosovo and Metohija. Such a prediction is not only to preempt the future constitutional settlement, which will necessarily be reached by agreement and according to democratic procedure, but also does not help to pacify the serious political and security situation in Kosovo, merely inflames passions, and further politicizes the situation regarding the forthcoming constitutional changes in Yugoslavia and the Socialist Republic of Serbia.

In conclusion, it must be made clear that the Constitution is the highest law in a state governed by the rule of law, and thus cannot be a matter for trifling or manipulation of any kind to the benefit or detriment of any nationality living in the state's territory. For this reason, no individual can approve or change it. Neither can it be approved or changed in the interests of an individual or ethnic group. As we know well from the experience of our multiethnic community, the Constitution can be changed and added to only by the will of the entire people, and thus by the will and wish of all the peoples and nationalities in Serbia, Yugoslavia, and Kosovo.

Serbian Official on Situation in Kosovo

AU2703135490 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Mar 90 p 1

[Report on "exclusive" statement by Radmilo Bogdanovic, Serbian secretary for internal affairs, for POLITIKA on 25 March; place not given]

[Text] Radmilo Bogdanovic, republican secretary for Internal Affairs, made a special statement on 25 March for POLITIKA concerning the latest events in Kosovo after the Serbian Presidency's decision on assuming the protection of the constitutional order in Kosovo.

"We have embarked on the urgent implementation of the decision of the Serbian Presidency," Bogdanovic

said. "We have formed special militia units in all communes and settlements and—as we say in our jargon—have operatively covered the field. It could said that the territory of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo is completely protected by the forces in charge of public peace and order."

Radmilo Bogdanovic then went on to say:

"We guarantee the personal and property safety of all citizens of Kosovo. We are intensively working on the identification of those who carried out the loathsome attacks on the members of the Serbian and Montenegrin nationality, of which there were about 100 in the last few days. Some of the attackers have already been detained. The worst situation was in Podujevo and Vucitrn. We are also intensively working on the identification of the organizers of the invented poisoning of the members of Albanian nationality. The members of the service are well prepared, superbly equipped, and regard their tasks very seriously."

Bogdanovic claims that order has also been established in medical institutions, as regards both security and provision of medical help.

"As always," Bogdanovic stressed, "we maintain excellent cooperation with the members of the Yugoslav People's Army."

At the end Bogdanovic said:

"Today, Kosovo is quiet, quieter than we expected."

Kosovo Groups Call for Serbia Day Boycott

AU2703165590 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Text] The situation in Kosovo is peaceful. The alternative movements have spoken up again. Here is a report by Milivoje Mihajlovic:

[Begin Mihajlovic recording] The increased presence of the militia in Kosovo can be felt today, too. Judging from the more thorough traffic controls, authority also seems to have started working in this part of the country. The construction of a Karic brothers plant started in the village of Staro Gradsko near Lipljan today. This plant will help stop the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from this region. It will employ 80 people. The construction of a shopping center has begun in Obilic. The beginning of the construction of a railroad equipment factory and 300 apartments for returnees in Kosovo Polje is planned for 28 March on the occasion of the Republic of Serbia holiday.

However, there is still tension in Kosovo. Lessons were boycotted in some schools today, too. Ethnic Albanian children in elementary and secondary schools in Suva Reka refused to go into their classrooms. The situation was similar in two secondary schools and one elementary school in Prizren. Lessons in Serbo-Croatian were not held in Vucitrn and Gnjilane, and schools in Podujevo did not operate at all. That Albanian separatists have not given up their aims is confirmed by the fact that leaflets calling on the Albanians to start an armed uprising were found in Djakovica this morning.

We have learned that because the sale of pesticides has increased recently, the authorities have decided that they can be bought only after people show their identity card and explain why they need them. They are afraid that Albanian separatists are planning to poison people. By the way, rumors and disinformation are still one of the main weapons of Albanian separatists.

Albanian alternative movements have spoken up again. All six Albanian alternative parties and movements have issued an announcement calling on citizens to boycott the day of the Republic of Serbia on 28 March. They suggest that the Albanians proclaim a day of silence on 28 March and not go into the streets between 1200-1400 [1000-1200 GMT], but perform their work and, as the announcement puts it, other duties as normal. [end recording]

Kosovo Albanians Boycott Serbian Statehood Day

LD2803102890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0855 GMT 28 Mar 90

[Text] Pristina, 28 Mar (TANJUG)—The day of statehood of the Socialist Republic of Serbia is being marked in Kosovo in different ways, depending on the nationality. Among Serbs, the holiday is being celebrated in a festive way, but in firms and collectives with a large Albanian work force there is no sign of a festive atmosphere.

For instance, pupils of Albanian nationality at Gani Cavdarbasi secondary school of Prizren arrived this morning at school dressed in black. Their peers in the Josip Broz Tito center of secondary schools in Klina are expressing their resistance to the holiday as instructed by Kosovo alternative groups, that is, through silence. Albanian pupils in Podujevo, Orahovac, and Glogovac this morning refused to enter their classrooms.

On the buildings housing Elektrokosovo and the post office in Lipljan, flags are flying at half-staff.

Radio To Carry More Serbo-Croatian Broadcasts

LD2703144590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1017 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Pristina, 27 Mar (TANJUG)—In connection with 28 March—the day of statehood of the Socialist Republic of Serbia—Radio Pristina's broadcasts in Serbo-Croatian will from 28 March be increased by a further two hours. In this way, Radio Pristina will be incorporated into the broadcasting schedule of Radio Belgrade from 2200 [2000 GMT] midnight. Otherwise, hitherto the Pristina studio has ended its broadcasts at 2000. Only a year ago broadcasts in Serbo-Croatian accounted for a total of two hours, but with the introduction of all-day broadcasting it now has 20 hours, of

which 17 are its own broadcasts and three are taken over from the broadcasts of Radio Belgrade.

Radio Pristina, and the broadcasts in Serbo-Croatian, are soon, along with Pristina TV's Serbo-Croatian language editorial offices, to be transformed into an independent public enterprise. Among other things, the radio and TV license fees will be separated. The program organizers decided to take this step because the collection of income has been very difficult. According to the latest figures, only 42,000 inhabitants of the province paid the [monthly] radio and TV license fee. It is defeating, but it is a fact, that of this number only about 5,000 citizens of the Albanian nationality paid the license fee, while most of the revenue of this radio and TV station was collected from citizens of the Serbian, Montenegrin, Muslim, Romany, and other nationalities. [passage omitted]

'Party of Yugoslavs' Presents Views

LD2703230290

[Editorial Report] Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian at 1505 GMT on 27 March broadcasts a 30-minute program entitled: "Election '90." The program's guests are representatives of the "Party of Yugoslavs." The party was founded recently, and according to its president, Ante (?Cegovic), there is already a 108,000-strong membership from all parts of the country and from abroad. The party does not want to enter into any conflict with nationalist-oriented parties and advocates progressive changes in Yugoslav society. It is open to all those who feel and declare themselves as Yugoslav. The party's main motto is "Equality in differences and differences in equality." It favors a federal system for Yugoglavia in which each republic and province will be allowed to retain its integrity and to pursue its own way of development. It advocates market economy, social justice, and political struggle through the institutions of the system. Party Council Chairman Jovan Njezic explains the party's ecology platform with strong emphasis on the role of ecology in the educational system. Party Vice President Tihomir Kovacevic explains that the party sees Yugoslavia as integrated into Europe. Once integration takes place, a great number of issues, including the national one, will be resolved.

Assembly Rejects Request for Settlers Law

LD2703231690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1336 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Text] Belgrade, 27 March (Tanjug)—The SFRY Assembly's Federal Chamber today rejected, by a majority of votes, a request by Serbia and Montenegro for a federal law regulating the amount of compensation for damages inflicted on settlers who, under a enforced order soon after the war, were prevented from returning to the region of Kosovo and Metoija.

A decision to this effect was passed by a narrow majority following a five-hour debate in which over 30 delegates took part.

A total of 79 delegates voted against the request, 60 were in favor of it and there were 11 abstentions.

Federal Chamber on Constitutional Amendments

LD2803084390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1442 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Mar (TANJUG)—The SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber today asked the assemblies in the republics and provinces to remove from their constitutions in under three months all points that conflict with the federal Constitution. Following a debate about a ruling by the Yugoslav Constitutional Court on those amendments to the constitutions of the federal units that are in conflict with the SFRY Constitution, it was decided that at the deadline's expiration the federal chamber will ascertain if its request has been carried out.

Muslim Party Set Up in Bosnia-Hercegovina

LD2703232490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1514 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Sarajevo, 27 Mar (TANJUG)—The Party of Democratic Action initiative committee today stated that, by the adoption of a program, the party will be set up in May 1990 at a founding assembly. This is in fact, as stated by the founders, a Yugoslav Muslim Party, which due to legal restrictions banning gatherings on a national basis is not in a posiiton to register under its Muslim name.

In the name of the initiative committee, consisting of 40 members of the Muslim nationality [as received], Alija Izethegovic, at the news conference in the Vrbas hall of the Holiday Inn Hotel, said that the Party of Democratic Action is "a political union of Yugoslav citizens belonging to the Muslim cultural and historical tradition, as well as other citizens of the country."

The statement for the public cites the "disregard for the national uniqueness of the Muslims of Bosnia-Hercegovina and, on this basis, their appropriation" as the reason for the party's formation.

We claim, the text states, that the Muslims of Bosnia-Hercegovina, both living inside and outside Bosnia-Hercegovina, are the autochthonous Bosnian people and are one of the six historically rooted peoples [on this soil].

In the text, which they claim is not to be a party program, the party voices its views about Kosovo, where "interethnic conflicts cannot be resolved through repressions." The party sees dialogue as the only solution, and, hence, "demands democracy for Albanian people." The party supports "the Yugoslav option of resolving the crisis in Kosovo," and, at the same time, "The Declaration for

Democracy and Against Violence." [passage omitted explaining that the party favors depoliticization of education and supports the Federal Executive Committee economic program]

Bosnia-Hercegovina SAWP Condemns 'Outrages'

LD2703215690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1349 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Text] Sarajevo, 27 Mar (TANJUG)— The Presidium of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP] Republic Conference today strongly condemned nationalist outrages in Sarajevo, as well as those behind slogans that appeared on some buildings this morning calling on Serbs to leave Bosnia-Hercegovina. One type of nationalism encourages another, and nationalist slogans on the old Orthodox church and the Yugoslav People's Army Club in Sarajevo are, most probably, a reaction to events in Belgrade, where slogans appeared on a local mosque. This kind of nationalist outrage is intolerable and there is no justification for it.

Slovene LC Wants Independence, Not Secession

LD2703201590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1847 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 27 Mar (TANJUG)—Independence for Slovenia —yes, secession—no! This unambiguous and clear directive, voiced at today's plenum of the Slovene League of Communist [LC]-Party of Democratic Renewal by introductory speaker Milan Balazic, can be taken as the most concise conclusion of the meeting dedicated to a new Yugoslav policy of the former Slovene LC. The plenum clearly came out in favor of a confederal Yugoslavia, that is, the confederal status for Slovenia within Yugoslavia.

The introductory speaker proposed, and the plenum finally endorsed, that the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] be disbanded, that all its bodies resign, that the foundation for a new cooperation and closer links be established through the equal participation of new representatives of organizations and parties that are being created out of republican LC organizations. This Party of Democratic Renewal gathering also pressed for the creation of new joint coordination bodies consisting of representatives of parties that are being formed from former republican LC organizations. They should put forward proposals for new program foundations, organizational solutions, the mode of decision making, and new cadre organization of joint bodies. On the basis of these proposals, it would be realistic to convene a new founding congress or conference of a new organization that could be called the League of Parties for Democratic Socialism [Savez Stranaka za Demokratski Sociajalizam].

The plenum of the Slovene LC-Party of Democratic Renewal clearly distanced itself from and determined its critical attitude toward stands by the Demos, the Slovene united opposition, regarding the latter's Yugoslav policy. Milan Balazic was unambiguous in his introductory report: To the Slovene electorate, the Demos offers the adventure of secession, which could deprive us of our daily bread and bring tanks onto our streets, Balazic said. The opposition, according to the introductory speaker, offers the country uncontrolled privatization, a trimmed-down welfare program, and workers on the streets; it offers us a country with a strong and expensive Slovene Army or even without one, the country of Slovenes "ueber allies" [above all], "Bosnians raus" [out]; it offers the country revanchism toward those holding different view from theirs.

Balazic also assessed that the opposition is playing with the patriotic emotions of the Slovene people, whom it will leave in the lurch afterward.

On the other hand, the Slovene LC has burned all its bridges with state socialism at its 11th congress, Balazic said. He added that the Slovene LC-Party of Democratic Renewal, even at times of pre- election smear campaigns led by the opposition parties, will scrupulously prevent chaos and secure a peaceful transition to democracy. It pledges in Slovenia and Yugoslavia, and it guarantees, that it will prevent any attempts to turn back the clock, that is, that this will be possible only through occupation that would not have the support of either the Slovene LC-Party of Democratic Renewal or the Slovene state.

In line with "the statement about the past," endorsed at the 11th congress of the Slovene LC, the plenum today adopted the conclusion about the political rehabilitation of Dr. Joze Pucnik [the united opposition leader and presidential candidate in Slovenia] and Otto Vilcnik, and ordered a revision of the judicial trial conducted against them.

Croatian Official on Benkovac Incident

AU2703123890 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Mar 90 p 4

["Excerpt" of report submitted to the Croatian Assembly Executive Council by Republican Internal Affairs Secretary Vilim Mulc on 15 March: "Intervention Only After Violence"]

[Text] On 15 March, on behalf of the Initiative Committee of the Benkovac branch of the Croatian Democratic Community [CDC], Ivan Orlovic from Budak notified in writing the Benkovac public security service about the CDC's plans to hold a meeting in Benkovac on 18 March. The notification stated, among other things, that the meeting was going to be held in the Asteria Hotel and that the Initiative Committee itself would be in charge of keeping order. In anticipation that the meeting would be attended by a large number of citizens, the Benkovac public security station, which is under the jurisdiction of the Zadar Secretariat for Internal Affairs, had made plans to undertake extra measures concerning the regulation of traffic and maintaining public peace and order, something that is usual for larger rallies.

Although the notification stated that the meeting was going to be held inside the hotel, it was held outdoors, in front of the hotel. The meeting was attended by some 2,000 people from Benkovac, the surrounding area, and from further away. The opening speaker, Drago Krpina, member of the Founding Committee of the CDC, asked those present to behave in a civilized manner. Some participants in the meeting reacted to this by booing and shouting: "Slobodan [Milosevic], help us live in harmony," "Benkovac is Serbia," "Yugoslavia," "Ustashas," "Who said, who said...." Several stones were hurled toward the rostrum. After that Dr. Franjo Tudjman took the floor. During his speech, several persons were shouting similar slogans and a number of bottles, eggs, and stones were thrown at the rostrum.

Then, an unidentified person proceeded toward the rostrum but was stopped by one of the ushers and turned back to the crowd. After that, according to the statement made by the usher, the person pulled out a gun and proceeded toward the rostrum again. He was again prevented by the same usher, who used force to disarm the man, causing him bodily harm.

The usher handed the gun to the CDC Presidium. A member of the Presidium then showed the gun to everybody, saying that an attempt on Dr. Franjo Tudjman's life was made with that gun. Up to that time, disregarding the provocative behavior, it was thought that despite the tense atmosphere the meeting could be concluded without more serious consequences for security and that an intervention by the organs of internal affairs could lead to the interruption of the meeting. For those reasons, the telephone request that certain provocateurs be removed, received by the duty officers in the Secretariat for Internal Affairs during the meeting, was not met.

Considering that shortly after a fight broke out in which laths, bottles, stones, and similar objects were used, and considering that a gunshot was heard, which caused even more chaos, the members of the militia intervened and prevented further fighting.

Tudjman's attacker was identified as Bosko Cubrilovic, born on 6 August 1928 in Donja Feranja, in the commune of Benkovac. The gun with which he threatened was a gas pellet gun loaded with four gas pellets. Cubrilovic was injured during the physical clash with the usher and was taken to the Medical Center in Zadar. The inquiry into this case is being conducted by a Zadar District Court judge.

The adverse effects of this event are that in some villages in the Benkovac area, particularly those inhabited by Serbs, people are organizing village watches and carry hunting rifles. Some physical clashes between the members of the Croatian and Serbian nationalities have also been registered, which makes the security situation in this area considerably more complicated. The internal affairs organs are investigating all of the circumstances and are trying to establish who is responsible for excessive behavior, as well as all the facts necessary to appraise the way in which the militia behaved. After this appropriate measures will be undertaken.

Silver Smuggling Viewed as Political Affair

AU2803090790 Zagreb VJESNIK (PANORAMA SUBOTOM Supplement) in Serbo-Croatian 17 Mar 90 p 2

[Vjekoslav Krsnik commentary: "Silence Is Silver"]

[Text] While not all the details are publicly known yet, it is already clear that the "silver affair" concerning the highly valuable old Roman Sevso treasure represents not only yet another one in the series of Yugoslav cultural embarrassments, but also an affair with political implications.

The political implications are involved in two questions that still lack clear answers and about which the responsible institutions are not only keeping quiet, but are also avoiding giving an open answer without beating about the bush and protecting everybody.

The first question is who was doing that archaeological research in the Brioni region in the seventies, without being authorized to do so and ignoring professional archaeologists. It is known that, being the residence of the republic's president, this region was closed to the public and that all moves and events in it in those years were under the control of public and military security forces. As a reaction to the statement made by Vesna Jurkic, director of the Pula Archaeological Museum, the Federal Secretariat for National Defense is categorically asserting that Yugoslav People's Army units have not made any archaeological findings dating from times of antiquity, including the said silverware collection, and that this is not in the Army's area of competence. There is no reason to doubt this statement of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, but there remains an open question to which the Federal Secretariat for National Defense failed to provide an answer: Who was doing the archaeological research on the site? If the Army does not know the answer to that question, then one can only conclude that excavations were made without the Yugoslav People's Army knowing about them. However, the aforementioned statement by the Federal Secretariat for National Defense fails to deny the assertion made by the London daily, THE INDEPENDENT, that the treasure had allegedly been found by members of the KNOJ [National Defense Corps of Yugoslavia], and that is the old name for military counterintelligence service.

The second hot question waiting for an answer is the following: Who was the unknown Yugoslav diplomat who transported the old Roman treasure in a diplomatic pouch to London at the end of the seventies' without the Yugoslav ambassador knowing about that? If this is true, it means that a man or a certain group of people was authorized to use secret courier missions at the Federal

Secretariat for Foreign Affairs and act at variance with the Secretariat's regulations. The fact that what is involved is a certain plot about which the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs should provide an answer without showing anger, as it is doing now, has been confirmed by the piece of news that the famous auctioneers Sotheby's sent documents about the silverware to 29 countries, including Yugoslavia, through their offices in Bern at the beginning of this year. Why then this meaningful silence about the name of that low-level official who replied to Sotheby's telling them that the silver had nothing to do with Yugoslavia? For how long will the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs be bombarding us at all levels and at diplomatic and other occasions with its incompetence, particularly in the case of its cadres with secondary-school education? Or is this also a part of that campaign—which is in somebody's interest—to sweep everything "under the carpet"?

However, things have already gone so far that the public has been left nothing else but to extend its full support for the application submitted by the Archaeological Museum of Istria to the Pula Secretariat for Foreign Affairs for criminal charges to be filed against the unknown culprit. It seems that the museum has been affected by the echo of democratic reforms that, among other things, demand the abolition of the organizations of the League of Communists in the prosecution offices, lest a League of Communists member be tempted to join the general campaign of hushing up something that is already obviously a smuggling and political affair.

Human Rights Delegation Urges Kosovo Probe

LD2703131690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0900 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Text] Pristina, March 27 (TANJUG)—The human rights situation in Kosovo could affect the decision on the acceptance of Yugoslavia into the Council of Europe, Denmark MP Bjorn Enkvist, member of a delegation of the Helsinki Federation for Human Rights, visiting Yugoslav province Kosovo burdened by internationality conflicts between the majority ethnic Albanian and minority Serbian and Montenegrin population, stated here.

At a press conference last night in Pristina delegation members stated that the only way to settle Kosovo problems is the consistent functioning of a legal state.

The delegation members proposed the formation of an independent international commission which would investigate last week's alleged poisoning of only ethnic Albanians in Kosovo. Journalists' question of whether the delegation members, among them several doctors, had found concrete evidence of poisoning was not answered directly. It was said, however, that there is "fear from poisoning" among the Kosovo population.

Journalists were informed about meetings between the delegation members and persons who have allegedly been injured, beaten up and maltreated by the police, as well as persons who have allegedly been summarily tried without being given an opportunity to defend themselves. The final decision on everything that it has seen in Kosovo the delegation will make after more detailed analyses and after obtaining additional opinions and evidence.

Journalists were also informed that several delegation members have talked with some Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo and established that these people genuinely fear for their life in Kosovo.

Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo are exposed to a constant pressure of Albanian separatists who are maltreating them in order to make them migrate from the province and thus achieve their goal of ethnically clean Kosovo, as a step on the road to secession from Yugoslavia and joining Albania.

Loncar on Council of Europe Membership

LD2403194790 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1535 GMT 24 Mar 90

[Text] Lisbon, March 24 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia wants to become a permanent member of the Council of Europe, Yugoslav Foreign Minister Budimir Loncar said at the final session of a special meeting of the foreign ministers of the Council of Europe in Lisbon.

Yugoslavia is aware of the responsibilities it would thus take on, Loncar said, pointing out his country's determination to fully implement political transformation and economic reform.

The two-day session, for the first time attended by the foreign ministers of East and Central European countries (except Albania and Romania), focused on changes in the region and the "new architecture" of Europe in future.

Loncar pointed out the importance of the CSCE as the most realistic structure which reflects the interests of all European countries and said that it should become a system. Now, even when the bloc model has been overcome, there are still too many weapons in Europe, Loncar said, emphasizing the question of the position and role of small and medium European countries, and especially German unification, in the future architecture of Europe.

Besides Yugoslavia, Hungary and Poland have also submitted requests for permanent membership in the Council of Europe, and Czechoslovakia is expected to follow soon.

Government Spokesman Views Current World Events

LD2303105190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0115 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] Belgrade, March 22 (TANJUG)—There are no signs that members of the Yugoslav minority in

Romania could become victims of national hatred, government spokesman Ivo Vajgl told a press conference here on Thursday.

In connection with Tuesday's brutal Romanian-Hungarian ethnic clashes in Transylvania, Vajgl said Yugoslavia believes the Romanian state should not limit itself to the role of observer alone.

Commenting on the outcome of East German elections, Vajgl said they "suggest some conclusions but the process of German unification remains complex and dependent on many factors."

Yugoslavia has always seen the process as linked with the "ensurance of calm in all european countries and with guarantees of borders to the neighbours," he said.

Positive changes in Southern Africa, that is, the proclamation of Namibia's independence should have an effect on Yugoslav's relations with South Africa, said Vajgl. He added that a large number of people of Yugoslav descent live in South Africa, which may give an impetus to the development of relations and cooperation between the two countries.

On the latest events in Israel and prospects for a dialogue with the Palestinians, Vajgl said Yugoslavia holds that the "change of government in Israel might indicate a strengthening of the pro-dialogue forces."

No Visas Necessary for Tourists

LD2303114590 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1025 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] Belgrade, March 22 (TANJUG)—All foreign tourists coming to Yugoslavia will be able until April 1, 1991 to cross the Yugoslav border and stay in Yugoslavia up to 30 days without a Yugoslav visa.

This is the substance of a bill on a visa abolishment for foreign tourists in the year of European tourism. A decision on the bill is to be adopted by the Federal Parliament under a summary procedure.

According to the bill, in order to stay in Yugoslavia up to 30 days foreign tourists will only need travelling or some other official identification with a photograph issued by official organs of the state whose citizens they are.

Foreigners Banned From Traveling to Lithuania

AU2803081890 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 28 Mar 90

[Text] As part of the emergency measures that have been introduced in Lithuania, foreigners are not being allowed to travel to and stay in this Soviet republic. The Foreign Affairs Ministry in Moscow has asked foreigners to leave Lithuania and the same request has been made of foreign diplomats, business representatives, and journalists.